DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 035 947 24 CG 005 011

AUTHOR HOSTETLER, JOHN A.
TITLE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND LIFE STYLES IN A TRADITIONAL SOCIETY, THE OLD ORDER AMISH. FINAL REPORT.
INSTITUTION TEMPLE UNIV., PHILADELPHIA, PA.
SPONS AGENCY OFFICE OF EDUCATION (DHEW), WASHINGTON, D.C. BUREAU OF RESEARCH.
BUREAU NO BR-6-1912
PUB DATE SEP 69
CONTRACT OEC-1-6-061912-1621
NOTE 529P.

EDRS PRICE EDRS PRICE MF-$2.00 HC-$26.55
DESCRIPTORS ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, *AMISH, CHILD REARING, *CHILDREN, *CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, *CULTURAL ISOLATION, CULTURAL TRAITS, RELIGIOUS CULTURAL GROUPS, *SOCIALIZATION

ABSTRACT

THIS EXTENSIVE REPORT IS CONCERNED WITH SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS AND THE IMPACT OF CHANGE ON REARING THE YOUNG. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES WERE: (1) CONSTRUCTION OF THE "CORE CULTURE" OF THE TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY AND ITS RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS, (2) DESCRIPTION OF SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS THROUGH THE LIFE CYCLE IN THE TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY AND IN THE CHANGING COMMUNITY, (3) COMPARISON OF ACADEMIC AND PERSONALITY VARIABLES OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN AMISH SCHOOLS WITH THOSE IN OTHER SCHOOL SETTINGS, AND (4) DESCRIPTION OF CHANGING SOCIAL PATTERNS, NOTING AREAS OF INTEGRATION AND THOSE OF DISCONTINUITY. REPRESENTATIVE GROUPS OF AMISH SCHOOL CHILDREN WERE COMPARED WITH A CONTROL GROUP FROM MODERN RURAL SCHOOLS. GENERALLY, AMISH CHILDREN SEEM TO DO WELL IN BASIC AREAS OF EDUCATION: READING, WORD USAGE, AND ARITHMETIC, BUT NOT AS WELL AS NON-AMISH IN LANGUAGE TESTS. TRADITIONAL AMISH HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN SOCIALIZING THEIR OFFSPRING, TRAINING THEM FOR LIFE BY A CHARTER WHICH STRESSES WISDOM OF ORDERLINESS IN THE PRACTICE OF COMMUNITY. DATA TABLES ARE INCLUDED. (AUTHOR/CJ)

BR 6-1912
PA 24

ED035947

FINAL REPORT

Project No. 6-19~~21~~12

Contract No. OE 1-6-061912-1621

Educational Achievement and Life Styles in a Traditional Society, the Old Order Amish

John A. Hostetler

College of Liberal Arts
Temple University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122

September 1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Bureau of Research

CG 005011

ED035947

Final Report

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For generous cooperation, thanks are due to many people. The names of all who contributed directly are listed in the appendix. Acknowledgement is given to the persons who assisted on a consultative level from various disciplines, the teachers and board members of Amish schools, and the persons who assisted in the field work and analysis of the findings.

Those persons who engaged in the research and who reported specific phases of the findings are appreciatively acknowledged. Their names and the chapters reflecting their work are as follows: Joseph Stoll and Fred Buchanan (for research) in chapter IV, Gertrude Huntington, chapters V, VI, and IX, and Wayne Miller chapter VII. Persons on the level of consultants who gave significant help were Dale B. Harris, Professor of Psychology, The Pennsylvania State University; Calvin Redekop, Professor of Sociology, Goshen College; and Ronald G. Downey of the Testing Bureau of Temple University. The collaboration of Jack Buerkle, Head of the Department of Sociology, and of Jacob Gruber, Head of the Department of Anthropology, on an administrative level was most helpful.

The project director is profoundly grateful to those Amish people who trusted our motives and who permitted us to participate in their school experiences sufficiently to achieve the goals of the study. We who carry this trust and the responsibility for reporting the findings objectively are keenly aware of the dangers of oversimplification and misrepresentation. Readers who make use of the findings are cautioned that the results are exploratory rather than final. They are advised to exercise prudence, and to guard against making conclusions that would misrepresent the subject or the findings.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS....................iii

SUMMARY....................1

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

I. THE PROBLEM AND THE OBJECTIVES....................15

- *The Research Problem*....................15
- *The Population and the Anthropological Context of the Research*....................15
- *Amish Core Culture*....................20
- *The Problem of Schooling*....................25
- *The Relevance of the Investigation*....................32

II. SOCIALIZATION RESEARCH AND REVIEW OF AMISH STUDIES....................35

- *Anthropology and Socialization Research*....................35
- *The Sociological Perspective and Amish Studies*....................36
- *Psychology and the Study of Socialization*....................38
- *Studies of Amish Education*....................39
- *Ingroup Publications and Sources*....................40

III. PROCEDURE AND METHOD OF THE INVESTIGATION....................43

- *Administration of the Project*....................43
- *Procedure for Formulating the World View*....................43
- *Procedure for Discovering the Socialization Patterns*....................45
- *Procedure for Discovering the Achievement Levels*....................45
- *Description of the Tests*....................45
  - *SRA Tests of Educational Ability*....................47
  - *Iowa Tests of Basic Skills*....................47
  - *Goodenough-Harris Draw-a-Man Test*....................48
  - *Myers-Briggs Type Indicator*....................48
  - *Gorham Proverbs Test*....................48
  - *Piers-Harris Test: "The Way I Feel About Myself"*....................49
  - *Occupational Aspirations*....................49
  - *Freehand Drawings*....................49
- *Hypothesis Concerning Achievement*....................49
- *The Selection of Sample Populations*....................50

PART TWO: FINDINGS

IV. THE ANABAPTIST-AMISH VIEW OF CHILD NATURE.........55

The Charter: the European Period.................55
- *The Conception of Child Nature*...............55
- *The Conception of Parental Responsibility*....57
- *The Conception of the Proper Content of Education*...........................59
- *The Conception of the Function of Faith and the Role of Ceremony*...................60
- *Expected Behavior Patterns of Children*.......61
- *The Conception of Maturity and Admission to Adulthood*...........................62

The Charter: the American Period................64
- *The Conception of the Nature of Children*.....65
- *Stress on the Natural Evil in Children*.......65
- *Stress on the Adaptability of Child Nature*...66
- *Conception of the Child as a Learner*.........67
- *The Conception of Socialization in Relation to Family and Community*...................70
- *The Conception of the Goal of Schooling*......72

Summary and Conclusions..........................74
- *Summary of the Charter: the European Period*..............................74
- *Summary of the Charter: the American Period*..............................75
- *Conclusion: View of Human Nature and Original Nature*.........................75

V. AGE GRADING AND SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS............81

The Age-Stages...................................81
Adulthood..83
Infancy..84
Preschoolers.....................................85
Elementary School Children.......................87
Young People.....................................92
Old Folks..96

VI. AMISH SCHOOLING IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTEXT.......101

Cultural Goals and Socialization................101
Relation to Civil Government....................105
- *Types of Amish Schools*.......................107
- *Areas of Adjustment: Government and Amish Schooling*.........................108

The Organizational Structure of the Amish School System............................115
- *Amish Elementary Schools*.....................115
- *Amish Vocational Schools*.....................122

Physical Characteristics of the Amish School.....123
Schedule, Curricula and Teaching Methods.........125
    Elementary School Schedule..................125
    Elementary School Curriculum................126
        Academic Subjects......................126
        Religious Education....................134
        Extracurricular Learning...............137
    Teaching Methods in the Elementary School...140
    Vocational School Schedule, Curriculum and Methods.....149
The Amish School Within the Amish Community......153
    The Amish Teacher...........................153
    Teacher-Scholar Relationships...............158
    Teacher-Parent Relationships................159
    Teacher-School Board Relationships..........162
    Teacher-Church Relationships................163

VII. TEST SCORES AND ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS..............165

Attitudes Toward Testing.........................165
SRA Tests of Educational Ability.................166
Iowa Tests of Basic Skills.......................169
Stanford Achievement Test........................174
Summary, Intelligence and Achievement Patterns...177
Correlation Between IQ and Achievement...........178
Goodenough-Harris Test Findings..................178
Cultural Influences in the Goodenough-Harris Drawings.....186
Summary, Goodenough-Harris Tests.................187
Myers-Briggs Type Indicator......................225
Gorman Proverbs Test.............................233
Piers-Harris Test: "The Way I Feel About Myself".....234
Occupational Aspirations.........................246
Freehand Drawings................................255
My Happy Time Drawings...........................255
Animal or Machine Drawings.......................263
Psychological Aspects of the Drawings............263
Discussion and Summary...........................266
Eisenman Comment on the Drawings.................267

PART THREE: CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATION

VIII. THE IMPACT OF CHANGE, TRADITIONAL AND EMERGENT STYLES.....273

Change: View of Child Nature and World View.....275
Change: Socialization Patterns.....279
Change: Achievement Scores.....286

IX. IMPLICATIONS: FINDINGS RELEVANT TO PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION.....291

Local Control.....291
Training in Vocational Etiquette.....294
Certified but Disqualified Teachers.....295
Training for Both Technology and Wisdom.....296
Multi-Cultural Society and Mono-Cultural Schools.....299

PART FOUR: SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

APPENDIX A. TECHNICAL SUPPLEMENT.....307

Tables (Tests of Significance), A-1 to A-26.....307
Instructions for Giving Goodenough-Harris and Other Drawing Tests.....338
Instructions for Essay on Choice of Occupation.....344
Project Staff.....345

APPENDIX B. SOURCE DOCUMENTS ON SOCIALIZATION.....347

The European Period
1. *Menno Simons, Written 1535-1550*.....347
2. *Dirk Philips, 1504-1568*.....353
3. *Ausbund*.....356
4. *Thomas von Imbroich, 1558*.....360
5. *The Martyrs' Mirror, Published 1660*.....361
6. *Tauferakten Kommission*.....380
7. *Peter Peters, Alkmaar, Holland, 1574-1651*.....382
8. *M. Simeon Friderich Rues, Observations, 1743*..382
9. *Gerrit Roosen, 1612-1711*.....383

The American Period
10. *Christopher Dock, School Management Treatise, 1770*.....384
11. *Responsibilities of Parents Toward Their Children, George Jutzi, 1843*.....387
12. *An Exhortation to My Children, David Beiler (Bishop), 1857*.....388

13. Why are Children Sometimes Disobedient........390
14. The Need for Church Schools, Guengerich, 1897........391
15. What is a Good Education? Eli J. Bontreger (Bishop), c. 1910........395
16. An Admonition, Johannes Esch, 1944........396
17. The Duty of Children and Parents........398
18. The Influence of Mothers and Grandmothers, 1930........401
19. How to Bring up a Child in the Lord, 1930........402
20. Graveside Hymn for Children........406

The Contemporary Period

21. Report to the Congregations Regarding the School Law , 1937........407
22. Backgrounds and Standards of the Old Order Church School Committee, 1937........409
23. Policy for Operation of Home and Farm Projects in Church-Organized Day Schools....421
24. Minimum Standards for Amish Schools (Ohio).....423
25. Articles of Agreement Regarding the Indiana Amish Parochial Schools and Department of Public Instruction, 1967........431
26. How Not to Spank a Child........435
27. Education, a Grave Responsibility........436
28. The Challenge Before Us........439
29. The Supreme Court Ruling........440
30. What About Corporal Punishment?........442
31. Teacher Certification: Giant-Sized Stumbling Block........443
32. Qualifications of a Christian Teacher........445
33. Qualifications of Parents and Board Members...446
34. Some Objections to Church Schools Answered....447
35. Some Tips on Filling the Lunch Basket........451
36. Beginning the Term........452
37. I Was a Teacher's Pet........454
38. Teaching School Children (A Recipe)........455
39. Ten Rules for Teaching........456
40. Rules for a Good School........458
41. Rules for Parents........459
42. The Teacher Shortage........461
43. Shall We Teach Our Teachers........463
44. What's Ahead........468
45. Mottoes on School Room Walls........470
46. The Teacher Says, and Other Selections........474
47. Elementary School Report........487
48. Vocational School Report........489
49. Absence Report Form for Elementary and Vocational School........491
50. Teacher's Report, Weekly........492

51. *Report of Committeeman, Monthly Report*........493
52. *Teacher's Record Book*...........................494
53. *Book List: Old Order Book Society*............495

APPENDIX C. LIST OF PROJECT DOCUMENTS AND PAPERS DEVELOPED IN WHOLE OR IN PART DURING THE INVESTIGATION................................498

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF REFERENCES CITED.........................501

LIST OF FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

(Between pages 188 and 225)

1. Drawing by Boy Age 10, Private School
2. Drawing by Boy Age 10, Private School
3. Drawing by Girl Age 10, Private School
4. Drawing by Girl Age 11, Private School
5. Drawing by Girl Age 15, Private School
6. Drawing by Girl Age 14, Private School
7. Drawing by Girl Age 13, Private School
8. Drawing by Boy Age 12, Private School
9. Drawing by Boy Age 12, Private School
10. Drawing by Boy Age 15, Private School
11. Drawing by Boy Age 12, Public School
12. Drawing by Boy Age 12, Public School
13. Drawing by Girl Age 12, Public School
14. Drawing by Girl Age 13, Public School
15. Drawing by Girl Age 14, Public School
16. Drawing by Girl Age 14, Public School
17. Drawing by Girl Age 13, Public School
18. Drawing by Girl Age 13, Public School
19. Drawing by Girl Age 15, Public School
20. Drawing by Boy Age 14, Public School
21. Raw Score Means of Amish Boys and Girls, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing
22. Raw Score Means of Amish Boys and U.S. Norm for Boys, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing
23. Raw Score Means of Amish Girls and U.S. Norm for Girls, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing
24. My Happy Time by girl age 10
25. My Happy Time by girl age 13
26. My Happy Time by girl age 14
27. My Happy Time by girl age 13
28. My Happy Time by boy age 15
29. My Happy Time by boy age 12
30. My Happy Time by girl age 10
31. My Happy Time by girl age 15
32. My Happy Time by boy age 11
33. My House by boy age 14
34. My House by boy age 15
35. My House by boy age 10
36. My House by boy age 15
37. Machine by boy age 13
38. Machine by girl age 8
39. Machine by boy age 14
40. Animal by boy age 12
41. Animal by boy age 13
42. Building Modified for use an an Amish Schoolhouse
43. New Amish Schoolhouse, Ohio
44. Amish Schoolhouse Built of Stucco, Pennsylvania

45. Amish School with Swings and See-Saws
46. Inside View of Classroom Wall
47. Amish School in Ohio, View from Road
48. Amish School in Ohio, View from Playground
49. A Two Room Public School Attended by Amish and Other Pupils

LIST OF TABLES

1. Number of Amish Schools, Teachers, and Enrollment by States and Provinces, November 1968....28
2. Mean IQ of Control Group and Amish Populations for Grade 8, SRA Tests.........................167
3. Mean IQ of Combined Amish and Non-Amish for Grade 8, SRA Tests..........................168
4. Mean IQ of Pupils in Amish Schools for Grades 5 to 8, SRA Tests...............................168
5. Mean Scores of Control Group and Amish Populations for Grade 8, Iowa Achievement Tests.....170
6. Mean Scores of Combined Amish and Non-Amish for Grade 8, Iowa Achievement Tests...............171
7. Mean Scores of Pupils in Amish Schools for Grades 5 to 8, Iowa Achievement Tests.........172
8. Profile of Pupil Scores in an Amish School for Grades 6 to 8, SRA and Iowa Achievement Tests.173
9. Mean Composite Scores, Amish and Non-Amish in Public Schools for Grades 1 to 6, Stanford Achievement Tests...........................175
10. Mean Scores of Amish and Non-Amish in Public Schools for Grades 1 to 6, Stanford Achievement Test in Vocabulary and Language..........176
11. Mean Scores of Amish and Non-Amish in Public Schools for Grades 1 to 6, Stanford Achievement Test in Arithmetic.......................176
12. Mean IQ of Pupils in Amish Schools by Age and Type of Drawing, Goodenough-Harris Draw-a-Man Test...179
13. Mean IQ of Pupils in Amish Schools by Schools, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing.................181
14. Mean IQ of Pupils in Amish Schools by Age and Sex, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing...........182
15. Mean Raw Scores of Pupils in Amish Schools and U.S. Norm by Age and Sex, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing......................................183
16. Comparison of Standardized Scores of Pupils in Amish School and Public School by Age and Sex, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing.................184
17. Comparison of SRA and Goodenough-Harris IQ Scores of Pupils in Amish Schools by Schools..185
18. IQ Scores of Three Ethnic Groups in a Single School, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing.........185
19. Per Cent of Amish Who Drew Non-Amish Subjects by Amish and Public Schools, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing...........................186
20. Preference Types of Control Group and Amish Populations by Per Cent, Myers-Briggs Type Indicator......................................228

21. Preference Types of Combined Amish and Non-Amish Populations by Per Cent, Myers-Briggs Type Indicator....................................228
22. Distribution of Preference Types, Amish and Non-Amish Populations by Sex, Myers-Briggs Type Indicator....................................229
23. Percentage Distribution of Amish and Selected Educational and Occupational Groups by Most-Skilled Function, Myers-Briggs Type Indicator....................................231
24. Comparison of Abstract Thinking: Mean Scores of Amish and Standardized Norm for Grades 5 to 8, Gorman Proverbs Test..................233
25. Per Cent of "Yes" Responses of Amish and Control Group, Piers-Harris Self Concept Test....................................235
26. Comparison in Per Cent of Amish Pupil Occupational Choice and Occupation of Household Head by Traditional and Non-Traditional Categories and by Schools....................247
27. Occupational Choices of Amish, Black, and Rural White Pupils, Age 9 to 15..................252
28. Occupational Choice of Male Pupils and Occupation of Father by Amish and Non-Amish Pupils.253
29. Activities Portrayed in "My Happy Time" Drawing Characteristics of Amish and Control Group by Sex..............................257
30. Comparison in Per Cent of "My Happy Time" Drawing Characteristics of Amish and Control Group by Sex..............................259
31. Test Scores by Traditional and Emergent Amish Types for Various Tests......................287

SUMMARY

This investigation is a depth study of socialization in a *Gemeinschaft* society, the Old Order Amish, with four specific objectives: (1) the formulation of the charter with respect to the view of child nature and the education of children, (2) the construction of the age-categories as defined by the culture with a description of the socialization practices, (3) the discovery of the achievement levels of school children on standardized tests, and (4) the development of generalizations with respect to changes in the social patterns affecting the education of children in "traditional" and "emergent" life styles.

The problem of schooling in Amish society is particularly instructive to all interested in education in culturally different societies. Several previous studies have advocated special programs for the Amish pupils, or have advocated forced assimilation. It is not the intention of this investigation to resolve the policy conflict of the Amish vs. the public school, but rather to understand socialization on a life participation level and value orientation in the context of culture. How do Amish children perform in the light of their own cultural goals and values? In what ways do they differ from other children in their capabilities and learning patterns? Numbering somewhat over 50,000 persons in the United States and Canada, the Old Order Amish are one of several traditional cohesive, cultures, whose way of life is being altered by technology and the life ways of mass society. For over two centuries the group has been a distinct culture group in North America, characterized by smallness, isolation, self-sufficiency, and distinctive customs. Like many ethnic-religious communities attempting to maintain identity in the broad stream of American life, the Amish are attempting to moderate the devastating influence of technology on the social patterns of the church-community.

Methods

The principal investigator, [illegible] is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Temple University, was aided by an advisory panel of consultants representing the disciplines of psychology, anthropology, sociology, and education.

(1) In the construction of the charter with respect to the view of child nature, historical and contemporary source documents were examined for the entire range of Amish conceptions with respect to human nature and child nature. The underlying assumption is that every culture provides guidelines for child rearing and that these guidelines can be constructed, whether the society be literate of non-literate. A bibliography of source materials ranging from the sixteenth century to the present time was carefully examined and conclusions are presented in the form of postulates with respect to the view of child nature.

(2) Observation and description of socialization practices required participant-observation in the communities included in the investigation. The methods employed were the usual ones available to anthropologists. As a resident in the community the anthropologist member of the research team occupied a farm house, identified with a specific family, its network of kinship and visiting patterns, ceremonial activity, and the daily routine of farm and community activities.

(3) A knowledge of the performance of pupils on standardized school tests was made possible by the cooperation of schools. A basic criteria for the selection of the tests was that they be "proven" and suitable for normal and "healthy" children rather than those which measure deviant or abnormal traits of personality.

Random sampling of all Amish pupils was impossible. Every effort was made to acquire representative groups of school children in the various grades and categories. Representativeness was recognizable on the basis of affiliations within communities, size of school, and experience of the teachers, and agricultural or non-agricultural features.

The pupils in the various categories tested were located in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, and Ontario. The control group consisted of pupils in modern rural public schools, selected for their social and economic similarity to that of the Amish.

In addition to a control group of non-Amish children, sample populations were tested in four other categories:

1. Amish in all-Amish public schools

2. Amish in private (parochial) schools

3. Amish in public schools with non-Amish

4. Non-Amish in public schools with Amish

Summary Findings, the View of Child Nature.

An extensive examination of the sources was made for both the European period (from about 1525 to 1780) and for the American period (from approximately 1780 to the present). Postulates derived from the European sources indicates a view of child nature as follows:

1. All human nature is believed to be inherently carnal (evil) but children are believed to be in a state of innocence, having potentialities for good.

2. Parents are responsible for training their children and are morally accountable to God for teaching them right from wrong and for transmitting to them a knowledge of salvation.

3. Children are urged not to be idle but to learn to read and write so that they may acquire a knowledge of the scriptures. Learning manual skills that are useful for making a living are encouraged along with literacy.

4. Children during their age of innocence are regarded as pure and not in need of ceremonial baptism. Should they die in their innocence original sin is not imputed to them on account of the death of Christ. Their entrance into adulthood and into the church-community is through a knowledge of the scriptures, followed by faith, and finally by baptism after attaining adulthood.

5. Obedience to parents and ultimately to God is a cardinal virtue. Children are not to be self-willed, but well mannered, quiet, and humble in the presence of others.

6. Acceptance of mature social responsibility is through total commitment to a believing church-community, materially and spiritually separated from worldly standards, including association and marriage with other members of the believing community, and a personal willingness to suffer persecution or death in order to maintain the faith.

A careful analysis of the sources from 1780 to the present resulted in the formulation of these additional postulates:

7. Although children are believed to have an inherited sinful nature through no fault of their own, they are loving and teachable, and with the proper environment are capable of assuming responsibility to God and man for their actions by the time they become adults.

8. As a learner, the child is viewed as a passive receptor of correct attitudes and facts. Independent thinking and inquiry is encouraged so long as such thinking does not challenge the basic religious values of the culture. How children learn is of less direct interest than what is learned.

9. The family, and to a lesser extent the school, are believed to have the primary responsibility for training the child for life. Limited individualism is encouraged within the concept of faithful adult behavior as the model for the child. It is believed that the child must have an explicit relationship to his parents, siblings, church, community, and school to achieve adequate training for adult life.

10. The school is viewed as an instrument for teaching the children the needed literacy and skills to live as productive adults in an environment where values taught in the home are continuous and function throughout the life cycle. The home and the church rather than the school are responsible for the religious training of the young.

Summary Findings, Age-Grading and Socialization.

During his development the Amishman passes through a series of six more or less well-defined age-stages. There are different expectations for each age-stage and different behavior is demanded. Socialization does not stop at adulthood but continues throughout the life of the individual. The age-stages are as follows:

Infancy: birth to walking. The first stage is infancy, this covers the period from birth until the child walks. Children of this age are generally referred to as "babies."

Pre-school children: walking until school age. The second stage covers the period between walking and entrance into school, generally at the age of six or seven. Children of this stage are referred to as "little children." Sometimes they are spoken of as "children at home," although that phrase more often refers to all children who are unmarried and still eat and sleep under the parental roof.

School children: six or seven up to 14 or 16. Children attending school are referred to as "scholars" by the Amish. These children are fulfilling the eight years of elementary schooling required by the state. They attend either public schools or Amish parochial schools and are between the ages of six and sixteen.

Young people: 14 or 16 until marriage. Young people or youth are those who have completed eight years of schooling and therefore can do a full day's work. Those who finish before the age of 16, must, in some counties, attend an Amish vocational school. Even though day school is finished by fourteen most young people are not full participants in this age-stage until they are sixteen. After baptism there is a modification of behavior and the baptized member is no longer a full participant. The draft, which removes Amish young men from the community for two years of alternative service, has not become integrated into the age-patterning of the culture. It can affect either young people or adults.

Adulthood: marriage until retirement. Baptism signifies religious adulthood, but marriage and the birth of one's first child bring social adulthood. Generally the time interval between baptism and marriage is relatively short. The major activity during adulthood is child rearing.

Old Folks: retirement until death. Adults generally retire sometime after their youngest child has married and started to raise a family. They move from the big house into the grandfather house, or to the edge of the village. They are cared for by their children and exert a conservative influence as they fulfill their accepted role of admonishing their children.

The Goals of Amish Schooling

The goals of Amish schools are described in the context of Amish culture and of American educational goals. Just as the goal of public schools is to produce individuals with "the best chance of understanding and contributing to the great events of his time" so the goal of Amish schools is to produce Amish Christians able to understand and contribute to the small events that will help perpetuate their community here and in eternity. Amish school standards are designed to establish the foundations of a society of "useful, God-fearing, and law-abiding citizens." Although the Amish goals are not identical with those of the larger society they are not antithetical for both systems strive to produce useful, law-abiding citizens. The Amish will not tolerate the removal of their children to a distance from their homes, the placing of them into large groups with narrow age limits, the teaching of skills useless to their way of life, and exposing them to values and attitudes antithetical to their own. These conditions develop when schools become large and bureaucratic. They establish their own schools, and when this is not possible they migrate to other states or counties where they can raise their children to thrive on cooperation and humility rather than competition and pride of achievement. The Amish stress humility, the elimination of self-pride, mutual encouragement, persistence, the willingness to attempt a difficult task, and love for one another. For the Amish education is primarily social rather than individual. Its goal is not "the freedom which exalts the individual" but social cohesion and social responsibility. Teaching the children to get along together in work and play is as important as teaching the academic subjects, and both are essential to the Amish community.

Amish teachers are as much concerned with the development of Christian character as with the teaching of facts. There is more concern with giving the pupils "correct knowledge" than teaching them "critical thinking." Only within the framework of the material presented are the children taught to think for themselves. In a secular school, with a scientific orientation, children's rational powers are trained to enable them to attempt to solve the "riddles of life, space and time." In the Amish school these are not believed to be riddles that need to be solved by man. Truth does not have to be searched for, it has already been revealed (in the Bible) and it is there for those ready to believe. Because the Amish and the public school have two such different concepts of what truth is and how it is to be obtained, their teaching methods are different: the Amish stress "believing," memorization and drill, while the public schools stress "questioning." Most Amish want their children to study history and geography, but in most schools where history is taught, facts are learned but interrelationships are not stressed. Secular man searches for pattern and meaning in history and for reasons and explanations of distant events. Religious man (the Amish) does not need to; he knows the world is orderly and is so ordered by God.

Summary Findings, School Tests and Drawing Exercises.

The findings reveal that Amish pupils, by and large, do reasonably well on standardized tests when compared with other pupils in an agricultural setting. The Amish pupils tested well within the normal IQ range. The Amish schools generally out-performed pupils in the public schools in achievement tests. The Amish scored below the non-Amish in language tests but were well above the public school pupils in the quantitative phases of testing. They did as well as non-Amish in reading comprehension, knowledge and use of reference material; and they did much better than the non-Amish in spelling, word usage and arithmetic problem solving. Amish pupils learn to do well in those subjects that are considered basic to education: reading, writing, and arithmetic. A summary for each of the tests follows:

SRA Intelligence Test. The overall or composite score differences between the Amish and non-Amish were not statistically significant. There was little difference in score whether the Amish were in public school or in private school, or whether in a public school where some or all the pupils were Amish. Amish pupils who were in public schools with non-Amish pupils of about equal enrollment scored higher than the non-Amish pupils. The IQ scores of the Amish pupils in private schools varied little from grades five to eight.

When scores were compared on the basis of subject (language, reasoning, and quantitative) the Amish scored lower than the non-Amish in the language aspect of the test. The differences were statistically significant.

Iowa Tests of Basic Skills. (Achievement Test.) The Amish scored higher than the non-Amish pupils in spelling, word usage, and in arithmetic, while the non-Amish overtook the Amish in vocabulary. All of these differences were statistically significant.

In vocabulary all groups tested scored below the national norm and all of the Amish categories scored lower than the non-Amish. The highest scores among the Amish were made by those pupils in private schools rather than those in public schools.

In reading comprehension all groups tested were lower than the national norm. The differences between the Amish and non-Amish were not significant.

In spelling the Amish in all three different settings scored higher than the non-Amish. Only the Amish scored above the national norm. The best showing among the Amish was in the private school rather than the public school.

In word usage the Amish scores exceeded the non-Amish and the difference was statistically significant. Amish pupils in private schools had higher scores than Amish pupils in public schools. Those Amish enrolled in public schools where there were also non-Amish pupils of about equal proportion had scores that were no different from those in public schools where the total enrollment consisted of all Amish pupils.

In the knowledge and use of reference material all groups tested were from five to nine months below the national norm. The variance between the groups was not statistically significant. The best showing was made by the Amish who were in public schools where the total enrollment was composed of Amish children.

In arithmetic problem solving the Amish private school population had scores higher than the national norm and higher than the non-Amish school population. The difference was statistically significant. The Amish in private schools had higher scores than Amish pupils in public schools regardless of whether they were segregated or mixed with non-Amish pupils in the public schools.

When the Iowa Test scores for Amish private schools are compared for grades five through eight, there is a tendency for scores to improve with each grade in those subjects in which the Amish do well: spelling, word usage, and arithmetic.

Stanford Achievement Test. Amish pupils in public schools from grades one through six were compared to the non-Amish pupils' scores from the same schools. The Amish performed equally well with the non-Amish on language and vocabulary and tended to be better achievers in arithmetic than the non-Amish by the time they reached grades five and six.

Goodenough-Harris Drawing Test, IQ. This nonverbal test of intelligence was given to Amish and non-Amish pupils. Pupils were asked to draw a man, a woman, and the self. The total point scores for the man-drawing were used as a measure of intelligence using 100 as a mean standard IQ score.

The Amish scored slightly above the national norm, having a score of 101.6. Boys scored slightly higher than girls.

Amish pupils in private schools made higher scores than Amish pupils in public schools, even when the pupils in the public schools were all of the Amish faith.

A comparison of the Goodenough-Harris scores and the SRA IQ test scores from the same schools shows that the former tend to be higher than the latter.

In a school where there were rural white children, black pupils, and Amish pupils of about equal proportions, the Amish scores were slightly below those of the rural white children and higher than the black students.

Cultural differences were reflected in the Amish children's drawings between those who were in private school and those in public school. The drawings by the Amish pupils in the most traditional schools clearly reflected their traditional culture. Amish children in public schools who drew themselves tended to identify more with "English" or alien symbols than did the children in private schools.

Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. The test contains indices for determining each of four basic preferences that presumably structure the individual's personality: Extraversion or Introversion, Sensing or Intuition, Thinking or Feeling, and Judgment or Perception. The index to these types are respectively, EI, SN, TF, and JP.

The Amish pupil types clearly fell into the ISFJ preference pattern, which according to the manual (Myers 1962: 70) gives this description:

> Quiet, friendly, responsible and conscientious. Works devotedly to meet his obligations and serve his friends and school. Thorough and painstaking, accurate with figures, but needs time to master technical subjects, as reasoning is not his strong point. Patient with details and routine. Loyal, considerate, concerned with how other people feel even when they are in the wrong.

The control group (non-Amish in an agricultural setting) types were ESFP in their preference pattern, and this type is described by the test manual (1962:70) as:

> Outgoing, easy-going, uncritical, friendly, very fond of a good time. Enjoys sports and making things, restless if he has to sit still. Knows what's happening and joins in helpfully. Literal-minded, tries to remember rather than to reason, is easily

confused by theory. Has good common sense and practical ability, but is not at all interested in study for its own sake.

Introversion rather than extraversion was most frequent among the Amish pupils in private school. The control group was decidedly extraverted. Amish in public schools tended to be less introverted and were more similar to the non-Amish pupils who attended the same schools.

Sensing rather than Intuition was preferred in all the groups tested, but the group having the highest proportion were the Amish in private schools.

Feeling rather than Thinking was preferred in all of the groups tested, but the Amish in private schools had the highest per cent of this type. Amish in public schools tended to have fewer Feeling and a more Thinking types.

Judgment rather than Perception was highest among the Amish in private schools and diminished among the pupils in the all-Amish public schools. Only in the public school where they were mixed with the non-Amish did the Amish have a greater per cent of Perception than Judgmental types.

The SF (Sensing and Feeling) types are pronounced among the Amish, even when compared to norms for rural high school pupils. Where compared to various occupational groups the Amish have a Sensing-Feeling score approximating that of sales and customer relations employees. They are least like research scientists or science students in preference patterns.

German Proverbs Test. The level of abstraction for Amish pupils was lower than for the standardized norm of this test. This finding is consistent with what might be expected in a culture group that stresses the oral tradition rather than rational inquiry.

Piers-Harris Self-Concept Test. Differences between response categories were observed for Amish and non-Amish pupils on an 80 item response test. Differences in responses were also observed between the sexes. The responses were grouped into six interpretable factors: intellectual and school status, behavior, anxiety, popularity, appearance, and happiness and frustration.

The Amish pupils tended to have a higher per cent of responses than the non-Amish on such attributes as behaving well in school, capable of being trusted, easy to get along with, sleeping well, and considering it their own fault when something goes wrong. They rated themselves as being more shy and unpopular than the non-Amish, and the responses indicate that they were very conscious of their physical appearance. Amish girls tended to follow the response pattern of the Amish boys, but in some aspects they conceived of themselves in less favorable terms, such as being forgetful, nervous when the teacher calls on them, and wishing they were different. The responses indicate a general de-emphasis of the self, definitely not exerting the self, and holding self in moderation in keeping with the values of the culture.

Occupational aspirations. Children's essays on "What kind of work I want to do when I grow up, and why," were grouped into traditional and non-traditional categories.

The majority of the children in the survey illustrate successful Amish socialization. They are confident of what they will be doing as adults and know they are receiving the technical and psychological training needed for adult life. Most of the children chose occupations of the traditional type—farm or farm-related. The proportions of traditional occupational choices ranged widely among the nine schools, which appears to reflect some heterogeneity of occupational patterns in various communities. The proportion of non-traditional choices by the children was greater than the proportion of actual non-traditional occupations of the household heads.

Responses from a multi-cultural school, consisting of Amish, blacks, and rural whites, showed that the Amish pupils still preferred the traditional occupations of their culture. Amish girls showed a marked interest in professional occupations such as teaching and nursing, but many were interested in housekeeping, cleaning, cooking, or helping others in the family. The choices of blacks and rural white pupils were more heterogeneous than the Amish and touched on a great variety of interests.

Freehand drawings. Amish drawings are clearly distinguishable from the drawings of suburban school children. Amish children included more cooperative group activity in their drawings, more work-related activities, and more outdoor activity. There is a demonstratable association between the content of the house drawing and intimate knowledge of Amish culture and spatial details of the environment. Use of color in quantity and variety differed from one school to another.

Amish children represent their external environment unusually early in the developmental sequences. This is manifest by the early consistent use of the base line and the sky, down to the horizon, both of which indicate representation of spatial relationships. There is early use of detail in many of the drawings. These features in drawings at an early age are important criterion of social growth. The de-emphasis on the self and the importance of the family and the community in Amish society makes the child aware, at a very young age, of the external environment. These children depict the external environment (other people and objects) as being important rather than subjective or individual feelings.

Change: Traditional and Emergent Life Styles

Generalizations with respect to the impact of social change are presented in a dichotomy of "traditional" and "emergent" life styles. "Traditional" life styles are characterized by preference for the tried as opposed to changing methods of child rearing and by communal consensus in contrast to individualistic decision making. "Emergent" life styles are characterized by differentiation of social patterns, receptivity to new methods of child training, and developed interest in rational efficiency and verbalization of belief as opposed to nonverval symbols of sharing. Although the emergent type follows the modernizing or transitional groups of Amish, its manifestation does not strictly follow church affiliations. In respect to the changing view of the conception of child nature, more data is obtainable from observing child rearing practices than in documented sources.

The traditional Amish believe that babies are incapable of sin or willfulness: young children can be disobedient, but not sinful. They see the child as having potentialities for both good and evil, and it is the parents responsibility to create an environment that encourages Christian qualities and discourages the non-Christian qualities. The traditional Amish are confident of their babies, their pre-school children, and even their school age children as long as they can protect them within the family and community and shelter them from "the world."

The emergent Amish tend to verbalize the sinfulness of the child. More emphasis is placed on physical punishment and the cleansing effect of pain than is the case with the traditional Amish. The traditional Amish do not stress feelings of guilt, for wrongdoing can be completely forgiven when acknowledged humbly and replaced by proper behavior. The emergent Amish emphasize guilt as a necessary Christian emotion. The emergent Amish reflect greater contact with fundamentalist emphases that were common in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century.

The traditional Amish community is more supportive of its members while the emergent community is more judgmental. The traditional Amish religion is practical and ritualistic and the emergent life style is by contrast more theological and mystical. The traditional form is characterized by a high degree of shared experience rather than by rational theological understanding.

The emergent Amish are more dependent upon the larger society outside of their immediate community than are the traditional Amish. In the latter, the need for human support and interaction are met within the community. The traditional Amish structure age-categories and rituals more consistently with supportive customs than do the transitional Amish groups. The emergent Amish support missionaries who leave the community to work in the world. Their religious style is more individualistic as is evidenced by an emphasis on personal emotional crisis of rebirth. Typically the traditional Amish person can grow steadily towards adulthood in a supportive community, while the emergent Amish person needs a personal integrative experience to overcome the discontinuity he experiences as a member of a transitional culture.

The hypothesis that children in public school are better achievers than Amish children in private school is not supported by the data. A comparison between Amish in private schools and Amish in public schools reveals that the former have higher scores than the latter in all the intelligence and achievement tests that were given. No significant differences existed between the scores of Amish pupils who were in all-Amish public schools and in schools where the Amish and non-Amish (mixed) were enrolled in about equal proportion.

Many Amish schools and children were observed during the course of the investigation. There is great variation in schools as there is in affiliation and in communities. The Amish children are not deprived from meaningful aspiration and participation in the goals of the culture. Although there are individuals who when they leave the traditional culture appear to have personal problems of stress and of making successful adaptations to the larger culture, they do not become liabilities on the larger society. They are generally motivated individuals in terms of occupational adjustment and goals.

In spite of pressures from the outside world on many fronts, the traditional Amish have continued to show remarkable success in socializing their children. Far from being a fossilized cult, the Amish have responded vigorously and imaginatively when the outside world threatened their children with secular education. By limiting the thrust of the technological society around them, the Old Order continue to strive to train their members for life by a charter that stresses the wisdom of orderliness and Godliness in the practice of community.

I. THE PROBLEM AND THE OBJECTIVES

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The problem underlying this research is to discover the pattern of socialization in a traditional society (the Old Order Amish) and to ascertain the impact of change, including changes in technology, social patterns, and ideology, on the rearing of the young. There are four specific objectives:

1. To construct the charter or what has also been called the "core culture" of the traditional community and to relate these values to educational patterns.

2. To observe and describe the socialization patterns of the community through the life cycle from infancy to adulthood in the traditional community and in the changing community.

3. To ascertain the achievement levels and personality variables of school children on various school tests in the traditional community and compare them to the levels of children in various other settings including those in the public schools.

4. To describe the changes in social patterns, noting the areas of human inegration and the areas of discontinuity or deprivation.

THE POPULATION AND THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

The Old Order Amish are one of many traditional groups whose way of life is being changed by the technology and life ways of the industrial world. Distinctive religious institutions, the use of a distinctive language and dress, and strong patriarchal authority has helped to preserve the Amish way of life. In a democratic country no group of people is deliberately forced to change its religion, customs, or value orientations. But it is nevertheless a fact that where industrial progress is a major goal of the larger society, the differences among peoples tend to disappear. Different languages, races, customs, and way of thinking tend to merge into one dominant culture. The Amish, as a distinct cultural group that has been in the United States for over two centuries, still stand out sharply as a people who have maintained strong group identity.

The significance of the Amish as an intimate, face-to-face primary group has long been recognized. Charles P. Loomis conceptualized the familistic character of the Amish in his construction of a scale in which he contrasted the Amish as a familistic *Gemeinschaft*-type system, with the highly rational social systems of the *Gesellschaft*-type in contemporary civilization. (Loomis and Beegle 1951:11-30.) He succeeded in illustrating relationships with degrees of measurement between the familistic and the contractual types of social systems. He showed how the Amish social system is characterized by non-rational modes of behavior such as the traditional, emotional, and sacred interrelationships. This he contrasted with the highly pragmatic relationships characteristic of a bureaucracy. Other social scientists have observed the stability and personalized character of social institutions within the Amish community. (Kollmorgen 1942: Gross 1948.)

The factors that led to the formation of the Amish as a subcultural group are primarily religious, and not only religious, but sectarian. The Amish, taking their name from their leader Jacob Ammann, are the descendants of a religious division that occurred among the Swiss Anabaptists from 1693 to 1697. The Amish are direct descendants of the Swiss Anabaptists. The division which separated them from the parental group was not over fundamental Anabaptists beliefs, but about the "strictness" of conformity to specific norms of practice. (Gascho 1937.) The Anabaptist movement, beginning in 1525, consisted of three groupings: the Anabaptists (Mennonites) of Holland, the Hutterian Brethren of Austria, and the Swiss Brethren (who include the Amish).

The Anabaptists' dissent from Martin Luther was not because he "tore down the old House," but because he "built no new one in its place." (Littell 1964:2.) The first Anabaptists included some of the most educated and intellectually capable people of the time, many of them former priests. Their concern was not with the correction of evil or the redress of grievances for wrongs committed against them, but with building a new fellowship after the example of the early Christians. They introduced a radically new ethic into a turbulent environment, living defenseless and non-resistant lives in the face of violence. Their re-examination of the Christian faith led them to a new kind of human relation which Ernst Troeltsch (1931) termed "communities of love." They held that Christians should fight not with sword and gun, but "with the Cross and with sufferings."

'Taking the Sermon on the Mount as a code for Christians, they renounced oaths, reveling and drunkenness, the use of the sword whether in war or civil government, economic rewards, and personal adornment. The Hutterites went so far as to abolish private property. The true church, Anabaptists said, should not depend on baptism administered in infancy, but on regeneration of character. Instead of embracing the whole of humanity, the church for them was to be a voluntary adult group of disciplined and committed people.

The Reformers were disturbed to see medieval unity shattered by the plundering acts of the peasants and by the radical ideas of the Anabaptists. Panic evoked the military might of the combined church and state. The Anabaptists and other heretics were subjected to the death penalty and many fled. Revolting peasants and non-resistant Anabaptists alike suffered persecution and annihilation in many instances. Anabaptist activity was centered in Zurich, Switzerland, where the adherents called themselves Swiss Brethren. The movement had its counterpart in the Netherlands, where they were called "Mennists" or Mennonites after their pastor-leader Menno Simons. The name "Mennonite" was later applied generally to include descendants of both Swiss and Dutch Anabaptists.

From the Netherlands many Mennonites migrated to northern Germany, Prussia, Russia, and later to the central plains of the United States. The Mennonites who remained in their native country of the Netherlands were granted toleration after a century and became merchants and part of the well-to-do class. The Swiss Brethren suffered persecution for two or more centuries; and with the original leadership gone, the succeeding generations settled into the mountainous hinterlands, pursuing an agrarian life. There they remained conservative islands of sectarianism, and met the conditions for developing a folk culture.

The Amish as a dissenting group broke from the Swiss Brethren in 1693-97 and formed a society in which custom has come to have great prominence. Before this cleavage the creative and intellectual character of Anabaptism had already vanished. Like all factions, this one had its personalities and its peculiarities.

The controversy centered around three specific norms of practice: the *Meidung* or shunning (also called avoidance) of excommunicated members; the excommunication of a woman who had admitted speaking a falsehood; and the saying that "noble-hearted persons" would be saved. The latter were sympathizers of the Anabaptists who shared many of their views and helped them in times of persecution, but did not join the group. Other differences became apparent as the groups and their spokesmen took sides.

The aggressive leader of the emerging group was Jacob Ammann, an elder who lived near Erlenbach. He was a younger man than his opponent, Hans Reist, who was a preacher of Obertal in the Emmental congregation. Both lived in the Canton of Bern, Switzerland. The Ammann group began holding communion services twice instead of the usual once each year. Their leader introduced the practice of footwashing in connection with the communion service and advocated uniformity in dress, including hats, shoes, and stockings. He taught that it was wrong to trim the beard and that persons who attended the state church should be excommunicated. There was contention between the leaders of the opposing sides as to who had the greater authority to set standards for the various congregations.

The persistence of custom and its slowness to change has been a distinctive feature of the Amish. The rigidity with which they adhered to their religious practices influenced the social and economic aspects of their culture. The Amish communities have remained relatively stable while the dominant culture in both Europe and America has changed radically.

The name given to the followers of Ammann in Europe was "Amish Mennonite" or "Amish." The usage of "Old Order Amish" is a later American development that came into common usage as the forces of assimilation and change began to penetrate the small communities. Those groups of Amish who kept their older customs were simply designated by the more progressive as "The Old Order."

The Amish people came to Pennsylvania from Switzerland as early as 1727. (Smith 1929.) Some families may have come earlier but records of earlier arrivals are lacking. There are today no Amish in Europe who have retained the name and the principles of the original group. Their descendants in Europe have reunited with the main body of Mennonites or have lost their Amish identity. It is only in North America that the name and distinctive practices of the Amish have survived.

Today the Amish reside principally in the rural areas of southeastern Pennsylvania, northern Ohio, and Indiana, and in similar settlements in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Maryland, Kansas, New York, and Ontario. Communities have recently been founded in British Honaduras and in Paraguay. The total population of the Old Order Amish is not known but is believed to be over 50,000.

The focus of this investigation is on the Old Order Amish as distinguished from several other groups of Amish, Amish-Mennonite, or "Beachy Amish" who have altered their life style by the introduction of automobiles, the use of electricity, and use of telephones in their homes. Since the Old Order Amish assemble in private homes for worship they are sometimes called "House Amish" to distinguish them from the "Church Amish" who worship in meetinghouses.

The Amish community is composed of three different kinds of social units: "settlement," "church district," and "affiliation." (Hostetler 1968:70.) A settlement consists of the total aggregation of Amish farm families living in proximity in a geographic area. There are approximately sixty such settlements of the Old Order in the United States. The "church district" is a congregation or ceremonial unit encompassing a specific geographic area within the Amish settlement. The size of the church district is limited by the number of people who can meet for the worship service in one farm dwelling-house, about 30 families. Large settlements have many districts, and they are geographically subdivided by roads, creeks, or small mountain ranges. The area within a church district must be small enough to accommodate a horse-and-buggy system of transportation, on the average about four to six square miles. The church district is a self-governing body with ordained officials to perpetuate the ceremonial and institutional activity of the congregation. Aside from regular worship, baptisms, marriages, ordinations, and funerals are also the functions of the district. The bishop, who works with the "bench" consisting of a deacon and one or more preachers, is the chief authority of the district. No formal confederation attempts to interpret policy for all the districts. The relationship between districts is largely informal, and the counsel of the oldest bishops is an important factor in maintaining uniform church policy.

"Affiliation" connotes different kinds of Amish groups that are identifyable by differing disciplines and who do not associate ceremonially with each other. In some settlements there are as many as six affiliations. Since policy is based on congregational decision-making under the leadership of a bishop, differences of interpretation that are not always observable to the outsider come to be informally perpetuated within the congregation. One result is that there are groups of Old Order Amish who do not associate ceremonially with other Amish or, as the Amishman would say, "They are not in fellowship with us." Full fellowship means that there is common agreement in discipline, and that the ordained officials when visiting other affiliations are allowed to preach and exchange these favors in a reciprocal relationship. Different affiliations in the same area usually arrange themselves along a liberal to a progressive continuum with respect to innovation. These different degrees of willingness to change apply to public schools and patterns of child training.

AMISH CORE CULTURE

Since schooling in any society is directly related to the value-orientation of a culture, it is important to understand the core values of Amish society at the outset. The core values are presented here not as a part of the findings but as essential to the delineation of the research problem. The value analysis has been treated elsewhere at length (Huntington 1956; Egeland 1967; Hostetler 1968) but we will summarize five cultural themes that have significant implications for socialization: separation from the world, the acceptance of adult responsibility initiated by baptism, the church-community discipline (*ordnung*), the practice of excommunication and shunning for transgressing members, and closeness of the soil.

1. The concept of separation from the world: an underlying existential postulate in Amish society is a world view conditioned by Christian dualism. As with many other ascetic brotherhoods, the existential world is believed to be caught between the powers of light and of darkness, between purity and goodness, and between truth and falsehood. There exists on the one hand a divine spiritual reality, the Kingdom of God, and on the other a Satanic Kingdom that dominates the present world. It is the duty of a Christian to keep himself "unspotted from the world" and separate from the desires, intent, and goals of the worldly person. Two passages, perhaps the most often quoted, epitomize for the Amishman the message of the Bible. The first is: "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God." (Romans 12:1.) This to the Amishman means among other things that one should not dress and behave like the world. The second is: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness." (II Corinthians 6:14.) This doctrine forbids the Amishman from marrying a non-Amish person or from being in business partner-

ship with an outsider. It is applied generally to all social contacts that would involve intimate connections with persons outside the ceremonial community. This emphasis upon literalness and separateness is compatible with the Amish view of themselves as a "chosen people" or a "peculiar people." The principle of separation conditions and controls the Amishman's contact with the outside world; it colors his entire view of reality and being. Biblical texts are conditioned by the totality of the traditional way of life.

Compatible with the doctrine of separation is the doctrine of non-resistance. By the precepts of Christ, the Amish are forbidden to take part in violence and war. In time of war they are conscientious objectors, basing their stand on biblical texts such as "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." (John 18:36.) The Amish have no rationale for self-defence. Like many early Anabaptists they are "defenseless Christians." Problems of hostility are met without retaliation. The Amish farmer, in difficulty with the hostile world around him, is admonished by his bishop to follow the example of Isaac: after the warring Philistines had stopped up all the wells of his father Abraham, Isaac moved to new lands and dug new wells. (Genesis 26:15-18.) This advice is taken literally, so that in the face of hostility, the Amish move to new locations without defending their rights. When confronted with school consolidation that would make it impossible to be "separate from the world" they build private schools or migrate.

Although the Amish maintain a line of separateness from the world, they are not highly ethnocentric in their personal relations with non-Amish persons. They accept as a matter of course other persons as they are, without attempting to judge them or convert them to the Amish way of life. For those who are born into the Amish society, however, the sanctions for belonging to the group are deeply rooted in the belief in separation from the world as defined by the church-community.

2. The acceptance of adult responsibility initiated by baptism: The meaning of baptism to the individual and to the community reflects an important core value. In support of their religious beliefs an Amish preacher told the court "We don't go down on our knees for nothing." (Schreiber 1962:97 ff.) Taking the vow admits one to the spiritual fellowship of believers. In late adolescence, young people are urged to consider becoming members. In their sermons, ministers challenge young people to formally join the church.

In most cases no overt urging by the parents is necessary, since it is normal for young people to follow the role expectation and be baptized. No young person could be married in the Amish church without first being baptized in the faith.

After a period of formal instruction, a baptism service is held prior to the fall *Ordnungsgemee* (preparatory service), which is followed by communion. Great emphasis is placed upon the difficulty of walking the "straight and narrow way." The applicants are told that it is better not to make a vow than to vow and later break it; on a Saturday prior to baptism they are asked to meet with the ministers. They are given opportunity to "turn back" if they so desire. The young men are asked to promise that they will accept the duties of a minister should the lot ever fall on them.

Basic to the vow is the acknowledgment of Christ as the Son of God, belief in the spiritual sovereignty of the true church of God on earth, the renunciation of the world, the devil, and one's own flesh and blood, and confession of Christ as Lord and Savior. The formal aspect of admission may on the face of it not appear to differ significantly from other Christian groups. What is significant is the promise to abide by the oral consensus (unwritten rules) of the church-community, which are not explicitly stated in the formal vow. The traditional Amish groups include in the baptismal vow, by inference or otherwise, the promise to help maintain the *Ordnung* and the promise not to depart from the discipline in life or death.

3. The church-community discipline (*Ordnung*): The rules for living are derived from the tradition and consensus of the church district. After baptism, the individual is committed to keeping the rules of the church. For a single person this means keeping one's behavior more in line with the rules than before. After marriage the individual assumes responsibility for keeping the rules as well as for "building the church," which means taking an active part in maintaining the discipline. The Amish community is distinctive from other church groups in that the rules governing life are traditional ways not specified in writing. These rules can be known only by being a participant. The rules for living tend to form a body of sentiments that are essentially a list of taboos within the environment of the small Amish community.

All Amish members know the *Ordnung* of their church district which generally remains oral and unwritten. Most rules are taken for granted and it is usually those questionable or borderline issues which are specified in the *Ordnung*. These rules are repeated at a special service preceding communion Sunday. They must have been unanimously endorsed by the ordained body. At the members' meeting following the regular service they are presented orally, after which members are asked to give assent. A unanimous expression of unity and with the *Ordnung* makes possible the observance of communion. Without "peace" (majority consensus) communion service cannot be observed.

In a society where the goal is directed toward keeping the world out, there are many taboos, and customs become symbolic. The rules of the Amish church cover the whole range of human experience. There are variations in what is allowed from one community to another in the United States and Canada. Custom is regional and therefore not strictly uniform. The most universal of all Amish norms across the United States and Canada are the following: no electricity, telephones, central-heating systems, automobiles, or tractors with pneumatic tires; required are beards but not moustaches for all married men, long hair (which must be parted in the center, if parted at all), hooks-and-eyes on dresscoats, and the use of horses for farming and travel. No formal education beyond the elementary grades is a rule of life.

4. Excommunication and shunning of backslidden members: *Bann und Meidung* (excommunication and shunning), a means of dealing with obdurate and backslidden members, has special significance in Amish society. *Meidung* was the crucial question in the controversy that gave rise to the Amish as a sectarian movement in their secession from the Swiss Brethren. The doctrine was intrinsic in the Anabaptist movement from its very beginning. The Anabaptist concept of the church was that it should be a pure church of believers only; persons who fall into sin must be first excommunicated, then shunned. Menno Simons taught that the ban applies to "all—great and small, rich and poor, without any respect of persons, who once passed under the Word but have now fallen back, those living or teaching offensively in the house of the Lord—until they repent." (Simons 1956:94.) The method of dealing with a backslider is that taught by Christ in the Biblical passage of Matthew 18:15-17. The passage is interpreted to mean that a person who has broken his vow with God and who will not mend his ways must be expelled from the followship just as the human body casts off an infectious growth. The practice among the Mennonites of Holland and Switzerland was of a mild character, in which the offender was excluded from communion. But a stricter conception of the ban was advanced by Jacob Ammann. His interpretation requires shunning of all (1) members who leave

the Amish church to join another, and (2) members who marry outside the brotherhood. *Meidung* requires that members receive no favors from the excommunicated person, that they do not buy from or sell to an excommunicated person, that no member shall eat at the same table with an excommunicated person, and if the case involves husband or wife, they are to suspend marital relations.

No effort is made to evangelize or proseltize the outsider, nor are the Amish concerned with the redemption of the outside society to the extent that they wish to draw members into their brotherhood. It is their primary concern to keep their own baptized members from slipping into the "fallen"world, or into other religious groups. Members who wish to have automobiles, radios, or the usual comforts of modern living, face the threat of being excommunicated and shunned. Thus the ban is used as an instrument of discipline, not only for the drunkard or the adulterer, but for the person who transgresses the order of the church. Fathers who send their children to a school beyond that required for living in the Amish community are liable for excommunication. The same applies to any member who would obtain a "worldly" education.

5. Closeness to the soil: Implicit in Amish core culture is the view that nature is a garden, man is a caretaker in the garden, and that manual work is good. The physical world is good, and in itself not corrupting or evil. The beautiful is apprehended in the universe, by the orderliness of the seasons, the heavens, the world of growing plants as well as the many species of animals and by the forces of living and dying. Amish rules require members to limit their occupation to farming or closely associated activity such as operating a saw mill, carpentry, or mason work. In Europe the Amish lived in rural areas, always having a close association with the soil, so that the community was entirely agrarian in character. It is only in America that the Amish have found it necessary to make occupational regulations for protection from the influence of industrialization.

The preference for rural living is reflected in attitudes and in the informal relations of group life, rather than in an explicit dogma. For the Amish, God is manifest more in closeness to nature, in the soil and in the weather, and among plants and animals, than in the man-made city. Hard work, thrift, and mutual aid find sanction in the Bible. The city by contrast is held to be the center of leisure, of non-productive spending, and often of wickedness. The Christian life, they contend, is best maintained away from the cities. God created Adam and Eve to "replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." (Genesis 1:28.) Man's highest place in the universe is to care for the things of creation. One Amishman said, "The Lord told Adam to replenish the earth and to rule over the animals and the land— you can't do that in cities." Another said, "Shows, dances, parties, and other temptations ruin even the good people who now live in the cities. Families are small in cities; in the city you never know where your wife is, and city women can't cook. People go hungry in the cities but you will never starve if you work hard in the country."

Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which is a center of Amish life, has long been distinguished as "the garden spot" of the nation, representing an intensive kind of farming on relatively small holdings. The older residents in Amish communities have accumulated a large amount of agricultural experience and lore reaching back to early colonial days. As farms are handed down from father to son, so are the experiences and the wisdom associated with the care of livestock and farming.

"Although George Washington was a president," says an Amish text (Nisley 1966:248), "he also was a farmer and had a love for horses." The main objective of their farming, as Walter Kollmorgen (1942:30) has reported, is to accumulate sufficient funds to buy enough land to keep all the children on farms. The farm economy incorporates the elements of hard work, cooperative family labor, crop and livestock productivity, and saving.

THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOLING

The process of nurture and socialization prior to school age takes place in the Amish family and community. A serious problem from the viewpoint of the Amish occurs during the school-age period in the threat of absorption into American industrialized society through the values promoted in the public school system. Public school officials are charged with the responsibility of seeing that all children are enrolled in school under conditions specified by public school laws, irrespective of culture, race, or religion. Since schools in any society are institutions for teaching values to the young, traditional Amish values conflict on some points with the values promoted by the schools in industrialized American society. This investigation is not directly concerned with the administrative solution of these problems, but it is concerned with bringing anthropological insights to bear on the problem. The kinds of competency acquired by Amish pupils in private schools as compared to pupils in public schools is a major concern of this investigation.

The broad aspects of the problem, which have come to the attention of the public from time to time in the several states where the Amish reside, centers around at least four issues as has been discussed in the literature (Kelly 1966):

1. *The amount of education required.* Most states now require eight years of education for all children. The Amish believe all children should be well educated for what they consider the good life—farming or farm-related occupations, with a minimum of modern science or technology. The number of years of school is not as important to them as the content of education. Since formal education tends toward acculturation, they seek to minimize the time their children are exposed to this hazard.

2. *The place where education is acquired.* The growing trend toward consolidation of schools in rural areas has triggered Amish resistance to state requirements. Their anxiety centers in the values promoted in the consolidated high school. To avoid this peril they have set up private schools in their own vicinity and they resist transportation of their children by bus into town, even in the lower grades and even when promised homogeneous Amish classes in town. It is the two itself which infects the child with worldly influence far from the protective aura of the family and faith-group.

3. *The degree of training for the teacher.* In several states, teachers in private schools must meet the same standards of certification required of teachers in publis schools. These standards usually require a college degree with a certain number of courses in education. The Amish would be able to educate their children entirely in their own private schools with teachers of their own faith if it were not for this requirement, since members are not supposed to have more than eight years of education themselves.

4. *The content of education.* The Amish basically object to having their children trained for a way of life that is contrary to their religion. In prior years the Amish have been able to moderate exposure to alien values by the number of years spent in school, the place where education is acquired, and by hiring the teacher best suited

to their needs. When confronted with little or no alternative for controlling these factors, the Amish hold that exposing their children to the values promoted in public school will lead to the demise of their church-community. Public schools teach a way of life that emphasizes the maximum fulfillment of personal goals. The Amish value individual achievement insofar as it contributes to the church-community. "Public or free schools," they say, "are intended only to impart worldly knowledge, to insure earthly success, and to make good citizens for the state." (Guengerich 1897; see Appendix B, No. 14.)

Attitudes toward secondary education are reflected in a variety of specific objections: Among them are: (1) children should be trained in manual work and in practical skills, (2) this training must begin early in life and must not be undone by higher education, (3) on-the-job-training is best, secondary schooling creates bridges which lead children away from the farm, (4) secondary education creates an appreciation for leisure, (5) book farming doesn't work, (6) secondary education poses a moral threat, since high school teachers would be too lax in discipline, (7) very few Amish who graduate from high school stay with the Amish faith, (8) low moral standards of high school students would be a bad influence on Amish youth, (9) exposure to modern conveniences would tend to make Amish yough dissatisfied with the Amish way of life, (10) social interaction with non-Amish leads to marriage with worldly youth, (11) evolution is taught in public secondary schools along with other subjects that wouldn't help farmers, (12) too much time is wasted riding on buses; this time could be used more profitably doing farm work, (13) too much theory causes confusion rather than enlightenment, (14) many of the high school teachers have never had any practical experience on the farm and are not of Amish faith, (15) Amish girls already know what needs to be known about household duties, and (16) much of the kitchen equipment used in schools cannot be used in Amish homes. There are the other reasons. (Stoll 1965:21-45)

The country elementary school served the Amish community satisfactorily in the past when the United States had a large proportion of rural farm people. The Amish have always preferred public schools to church-operated schools, so long as they were small and near their farm homes. So long as the Amish sent their children to a one-room country elementary school and did not openly flaunt the truancy laws, no official sanctions were applied in a significant or large-scale manner. With the consolidation of school districts and collectivization of school facilities, all this has changed. The Amish alternatives were: (1) to permit their children to attend large schools, often in small towns, (2) request officials to keep the one-room school open or to form two or four-room schools in the country, (3) vote down the consolidation option and millage, (4) open a private (church) school of their own, (5) or ignore the compulsory attendance laws after the completion of eighth grade. The Amish pleaded with local school boards to keep open the country schools, but eventually they followed the pattern of establishing private schools. The first Amish school was built in 1925 (*Blackboard Bulletin*, October 1965) and two more were founded by 1938. One hundred and nine schools were established from 1925 to 1963. Ninety-five schools were built during the four year period 1964 to 1967. By November, 1968, there were 236 Amish schools with an estimated enrollment of 7,859. (Table 1.)

Table 1. Number of Amish Schools, Teachers, and Enrollment by States and Provinces, November 1968.

State or Province	Number Schools	Number Teachers	Pupil Enrollment
Ohio	76	90	2,621
Pennsylvania	60	68	1,930
Indiana	44	69	1,630
Missouri	18	21	405
Ontario	10	12	310
Wisconsin	10	10	260
New York	5	5	189
Maryland	3	3	85
Illinois	3	6	146
Iowa	3	4	92
Delaware	2	2	82
Virginia	2	6	129
Totals	236	296	7,859

Source: *Blackboard Bulletin*, November 1968 and by correspondence with the editor. Due to an incomplete census, the precise number of schools is unknown.

Even though there has been a movement toward founding private schools, it is believed that about half of all Amish pupils still attend public schools. Some parents prefer their children to attend public schools for varied reasons. Some send them to public school for four grades and then enroll them in private Amish schools. Many parents cannot or do not wish to pay the cost of sending their children to a church school. Amish objections to maintaining schools are discussed in an article included in the Appendix B, No. 34.

The enforcement of school laws affecting the Amish has taken different forms in the various states where there are Amish communities. The main issues are similar but the details vary. All of the states containing sizeable Amish communities have had major confrontations on school policy. The main themes running through these confrontations, as reported by Buchanan (1967:65), whose field work is based upon observations in Ohio, are these:

1. The existence of nonlegal verbal agreements between the Amish and some local schoolmen which the Amish accepted at face value and believed permanent.

2. The turnover in school personnel at both local and state levels of government.

3. Local pressures upon school authorities to enforce school laws indiscriminately because of political, economic, or personal considerations.

4. Increased involvement of the state in local school districts.

5. The lack of clear-cut legal guidelines for the implementation of state standards upon private schools.

6. A general lack of sensitivity on the part of school authorities to the Amish religion and pattern of life.

7. Intransigence on the part of the Amish even when no religious principles were involved.

8. The absence of dialogue between the Amish and the school authorities.

Pennsylvania was the first state to enforce the compulsory attendance law against widespread Amish opposition. The law required children to attend school until their seventeenth birthday, but children engaged in farm work were permitted to apply for a permit, which excused them from school attendance when they reached the age of fifteen. Many pupils, however, had repeated the eighth grade to avoid going to a consolidated high school and were still not old enough to apply for a farm permit. Pennsylvania schools were no longer willing to tolerate the practice of allowing the pupils to repeat grade eight, and officials tried to withhold the farm permits. When Amish parents did not send their children to the consolidated high school, they were summoned to the magistrates and fined. They refused to pay the fines on grounds that this would be tantamount to admission of being guilty. As a result they were sent to the county jail, but frequently friends and businessmen paid the fines to release the parents from prison. Amish parents took the position that compulsory attendance beyond the elementary grades, especially high school, interfered with the exercise of their religious liberty. No legal solution to this dilemma was found by attorneys and friends of the Amish who took the case to the courts; the Amish themselves would not litigate. After a number of years of confrontations, from about 1937 to 1955, the state permitted a compromise plan called "Policy for Operation of Home and Farm Projects in Church-Organized Day Schools" (see Appendix B, No. 23). This gave rise to the Amish vocational school system attended by Amish pupils who are not of legal age to obtain a farm permit. These pupils perform farm and household duties under parental guidance, keep a journal of their activities, and meet in classes three hours per week. In Pennsylvania private schools are required to teach certain subjects and to file attendance reports, but certification of teachers is not enforced.

The Iowa controversy appears to have had all the elements of a typical Amish vs. state school problem. In a documentary case study entitled "Showdown at an Amish Schoolhouse," Donald A. Erickson (1969:15-59) relates the full details. This small Amish community had two one-room schools that were taught by Amish girls who were selected for their teaching aptitude but who had had only an elementary education. This followed the practices of the Amish in other states. The Iowa school officials tried to close the schools, and failing in this, attempted to compel the children to board a bus to take them to the consolidated town school. The press was on hand to record the scene as frightened youngsters ran for cover in cornfields and weeping parents were arrested for noncompliance with the law. In Iowa, as elsewhere, the problem was complex and it took several years to bring about an acceptable compromise.

Pressure from local residents to make minorities conform to the school laws is often reinforced by long-standing antagonisms. The concern with law enforcement at such times takes precedent over the understanding of a culture that is different from that of the school administrators. The achievement levels of children tend to be forgotten at such times.

In Kansas, the education of Amish children was most affected by an act of the Kansas legislature in 1965 that required pupils to attend a state-certified school until age sixteen. Formerly a pupil who had completed the eighth grade was not obliged to continue his schooling. As elsewhere in the nation, the Amish in Kansas had sent their children to a rural one-room public school until they had finished the elementary grades. This act of the Kansas legislature forced the Amish to send their children to the consolidated high school, or to establish their own state-approved secondary schools. As a consequence of the Kansas law, Leroy Garber, an Amish parent, arranged to send his fifteen year old daughter, Sharon, to an Amish vocational school, the Harmony School. (Erickson, 1968a: "The Persecution of....") Since Harmony School was not approved by the State of Kansas, Garber was indicted for failing to require his daughter to attend a certified school. Garber grounded his defense on the free exercise clause of the first amendment of the Constitution, contending that the state unlawfully abridged his right to practice his faith by prosecuting him for sending his daughter to the Harmony School. The Kansas Supreme Court affirmed Garber's conviction and stated that Garber's religious freedom was not abridged by prosecution for his daughter's truancy. The court reasoned that he was not constrained to believe anything against his religious creed, but was merely constrained to perform an act that the state has the power to compel despite one's religious convictions. Although Garber permitted the National Committee for Amish Religious Freedom (a citizens group) and the American Civil Liberties Union to appeal the case to the U. S. Supreme Court, the high court, for lack of one vote, declined to hear the case. The Garber family subsequently moved out of the state of Kansas.

The certification issue arose in a small Michigan Amish community in 1965. An offer was made by the state to provide a certified teacher for secular subjects and allow the Amish teacher to teach religious subjects, but this was rejected by the Amish. The controversy was halted by Governor Romney for a period of study; eventually the school was permitted to continue under the supervision of the county superintendent. In Todd County, Kentucky, four Amish fathers were found innocent by a jury of four men and two women in 1967. The jury was instructed that they could find the defendants innocent if the jury decided that the defendants acted according to the dictates of their consciences. After fifteen minutes of deliberation the jury issued a decision of not guilty. (Miller 1969:76.) The state of Indiana has met with some success in a "dialogue" with the Amish leaders in meeting educational standards. An "Agreement" (see Appendix B, No. 25) was reached in 1967 between the Indiana Department of Education and a state-wide Amish Committee. Among other stipulations the Amish agreed that their teachers would take the General Educational Development Tests to establish whether or not they had the equivalency of a high school education; those who pass are permitted to continue teaching and those who fail are to take additional course work by correspondence or self-study.

It is impossible for officials to prosecute large numbers of the Amish who refuse to abide by truancy laws, and even successful prosecution produces no appreciable change in attitudes toward secular education by the Amish community as a whole. In addition there is considerable sympathy for Amish by the public and antipathy toward the prosecuting officials when such suppressions are attempted. The long-term effects of policy conflicts on the children of a minority group is not easily ascertained, but leads us to consider the relevance of this investigation.

THE RELEVANCE OF THE INVESTIGATION

Concern with the development and the training of children is probably as old as man. Every culture provides norms for training the young in ways that are socially sanctioned and in keeping with the cultural conceptions of the nature of man, his community, his world, and of the natural environments. Enormous plasticity in human nature is evidenced in the wide range of socialization patterns found among human societies. This investigation is an attempt to view culture as a whole and to make this the major basis of concern whereby a person is incorporated into his society.

The problem of educational policy in the United States toward minority cultures far transcends the welfare of the Amish people. The problem has significant implications for both the minority and the majority society. At a time when many minority groups are searching for identity and recognition in the main stream of society, the Amish ask to be left alone.

The trend in industrialized society is to consolidate smaller school districts into larger ones. The reasons given me to provide a greater diversification of course offerings than would be possible with smaller numbers of students, to provide greater efficiency in the operation of physical facilities and buildings, to reduce the expense of educating each student by eliminating small classes, to provide specialized student services not usually possible in smaller school systems, and to assimilate ethnic groups into a "solid democracy." (Morphet, et al. 1961.) The logical consequences, as Donald Erickson (1965, 1966) has suggested, is the extermination of the Amish without really trying. When social isolation is of utmost importance for the maintainance of a mode of living and survival of a religious group, should all pupils be forced to attend schools of the dominant culture? Is it the purpose of state schools to promote the socialization of all children of all nationalities, of all cultural backgrounds, of all ethnic groups, into one American mold and to promote conformity at the expense of cultural diversity? If the minority were a recalcitrant group, unproductive, disorganized, and a pathological liability, plagues with welfare, crime, or unemployment problems, public policy might be far different from one of general tolerance.

The Amish case raises fundamental questions of administrative policy. "How can non-public schools be both responsible and free?", asks Erickson (1969:4). The state cannot assure an adequate education for all children without setting instructional requirements for all schools, public or non-public. The non-public schools cannot fulfill their distinctive educational goals if these standards preclude them from independently following their own cultural goals. How is a balance to be achieved? Various theories have been advanced but there has been little consensus along the line of schooling policy for the culturally different as opposed to the culturally deprived child.

Although a researcher can never ultimately predict the outcome or significance of his work, the following points incorporate the manifest intentions:

1. This investigation is concerned with the effect of a cultural system and its institutions on the process of socialization and personality development. The method relies heavily on direct observation of child rearing practices in a small minority, and provides a more comprehensive picture of the total socialization process than a study of a particular age group or a segment of socialization.

2. Knowledge of the personal and social problems of a changing folk culture has relevance where these technological changes are occurring at an accelerated rate in many parts of the world. The investigation documents the life styles of persons trained for a traditional agricultural way of life, but who may be forced to change their occupations and make adaptations. If we can learn under what conditions a people can adopt technology in such a way as to maintain a favorable world view and a stable social relations pattern, then there is relevance in this investigation.

3. The investigation is an attempt to understand structural integration as well as disintegration during periods of change and its affect on personality development. It attempts to understand human conservation and cultural deprivation, with its alienation and wastage of human ability, under conditions of change from fold to industrialized forms of society. The nature of social stability and instability and its relation to education is a central concern of the study.

4. The findings will, we believe, reveal a knowledge of personality types, traits, concepts of self, motivation patterns, major reference groups, the cultural conditions associated with achievement scores on selected standardized tests and the relation between measured I.Q. scores and achievement.

5. The findings should be of direct interest to educational policy forming groups faced with problems of cultural pluralism in the schools, in such matters as school consolidation, certification, and enforcement. If a few men and women who teach and/or supervise schools will discover the significance of culture in the school experience, some latent functions of this investigation will have been achieved.

6. This report is an additional contribution to anthropological studies of child socialization and the detailed documentation required for cross-cultural studies by anthropologists and psychologists.

II. SOCIALIZATION RESEARCH AND REVIEW OF AMISH STUDIES

The purpose of this chapter is to pinpoint the perspective of social science in socialization, principally in the fields of anthropology, sociology, and psychology, and to review the previous studies of the Amish in the perspective of these sub-disciplines.

The number of M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations dealing with the Amish has reached over fifty. Since the publication of *Annotated Bibliography on the Amish* (Hostetler 1951) the number of book titles as well as graduate dissertations have grown steadily. It seems paradoxical that a people who have refused higher education, have now become the objects of rigorous scientific study by individuals who themselves want to achieve higher education. The first book length treatment of the Amish appeared in 1894 by Barthinius L. Wick (Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa). The first M.A. thesis on the Amish was written by Arthur Houton (University of Illinois 1926) in sociology. Alfred L. Shoemaker produced the first Ph.D. dissertation on the Amish (University of Illinois 1932) in a study of the Amish dialect.

The historical account of the Amish movement within the Swiss Brethren is discussed by C. Henry Smith (1909 and 1929). Primary sources consisting of the exchange of letters between the factions are published in Gascho (1937) which is the most definitive study of the issues. Bender's accounts (*Mennonite Encyclopedia:* "Amish Division," and "Amish Mennonites," 1955) give additional insight and information. A sociological interpretation of the Amish as a sectarian movement appears in Hostetler's *Amish Society* (1963, revised 1968). Grant Stoltzfux (M.A., Pittsburgh 1954) describes the first Amish settlements in Pennsylvania. General descriptive community studies of the largest Pennsylvania Amish settlement and contained in Bachman (1941, 1961), Kollmorgen (1942), and Elmer Smith (1960).

ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIALIZATION RESEARCH

As Clausen (1968:39) notes, "Developments within anthropology contributed more to the rise of interest in socialization in recent decades than did any other single influence." Prior to 1920 few anthropologists were concerned with child rearing. An important stimuli in this field has been the psychoanalytic theory. Subsequently through the influence of Malinowski, Sapir, Mead, Klukhohn, Whiting, and other anthropologists along with psychoanalysts, there have been many investigations of personality development in primitive cultures. Infancy became the critical point of interest in socialization which stressed the importance of nursing, weaning, toilet training, and infant sexuality. Margaret Mead's early studies were concerned with the process of cultural education. She examined the ways in which children were reared and prepared for the activities they would engage in as adults. *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) describes infant and maternal care, the importance of older siblings, the learning of avoidances and skills, and the series of demands, responsibilities, and privileges associated with age grades. The anthropological perspective of viewing education (and later socialization) as "the whole process by which a newborn infant becomes a member of society, a member of his particular society and an individual in his own right" (Clausen 1968:41) has been carried on by Kluckhohn, Warner, Whiting, Spindler, and others.

To date there have been no studies on the Amish that utilize the field methods of anthropology with its insistence on direct observation of child rearing practices and socialization as a total process. Huntington's doctoral dissertation on an Ohio community (Yale 1956) is the only major work employing cultural anthropological perspectives and methods in the study of the Amish community. Gutkind (M.A., Chicago 1952) centered his attention on the problems of the family and secularization in an Indiana Amish community. Egeland's doctoral dissertation (Yale 1967) based on the Lancast County settlement is concerned with the social patterns of illness. McCorkle (1956) and McCorkle and von Herringen (1958) working conjointly reported their observations on the medical behavior of the Johnson County, Iowa, Amish.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE AND AMISH STUDIES

The study of socialization within the discipline of sociology has been concerned with several facets: the significance of human groups and human interaction in the attainment of the social self and of self--other patterns, the modes of social control and patterns of deviation, and the importance of social roles and role training for the understanding of human behavior. Sociology has focused on the regulative institutions and the process of the internalization of norms. To a large extent this discipline has examined the social order and its relation to each new generation's conformity and nonconformity to the moral imperatives of the society. Sociologists have also been interested in the ways in which social status influences the orientations and behavior of parents toward their children. Contributions to socialization research have been most notable in the realm of adolescent and adult socialization (Brim and Wheeler 1966) and have often been associated with a particular institution or organization in modern society. Sociologists have tended to rely principally upon interview techniques. From the publication of *Middletown* (Lynd and Lynd 1929) to *The Adolescent Society* (Coleman 1961) there have been a wide range of "empirical" studies embracing socialization along these perspectives.

Although there have been over 20 dissertations treating some phase of Amish sociology none has dealt exclusively with socialization. Perhaps the most sociological was the research of Manford Kuhn at the University of Iowa. Taking an Iowa community as their sample, Kuhn and McPartland (1955) issued a report on an empirical study of Amish self attitudes. Hickman and Kuhn (1956) compared the economic aspirations of Amish and non-Amish children on such items as "Things I would like to own." Daniel Yutzi (M.A., Ohio State 1961) drew comparisons between the generations in a Madison County, Ohio, Amish settlement. In a study of the Amish in Reno County, Kansas, D. Paul Miller (M.A., Nebraska 1949) observed acculturation patterns among the several affiliations of Amish. Family size and family organization in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, was the substance of Hostetler's M.A. thesis (Penn State 1951), and the factors associated with mobility from Amish to Mennonite affiliations were reported in his doctoral work (Penn State 1953).

Most sociological treatments of the Amish fall into what might be termed community studies. The first study, by Houghton (M.A. Illinois 1926), was based on the Illinois Amish settlement and reported family size, community organization, land tenure, and social institutions. John Paul Yoder (M.A., Penn State 1941) observed the social isolation mechanisms of the eight affiliations of Amish in Mifflin County. Karl Baehr (B.D., Chicago 1942) rendered an interpretation of the Amish struggle to maintain their way of life under the impact of the surrounding non-sacred culture in northern Indiana. Calvin Bachman (1941, 1961) issued a comprehensive descriptive study of the Lancaster, Pennsylvania settlement. Walter Kollmorgen (1942) under the direction of Carl Taylor and Charles Loomis of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, completed a study of the Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Amish. Using the Kollmorgen data, Getz (M.A., American University 1945) described the relationship of Amish religion to economic practices. In a study of Mennonites and Amish near

Sarasota, Florida, Taylor Scott (M.A., Florida 1949) contrasted church and sect types of social organization. In a Doctor of Social Science dissertation at Syracuse, Elmer Smith (1955) observed selected aspects of change in the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, settlement.

The several dissertations issued in departments of geography include: Fletcher (M.A., Ohio State 1932) on the Holmes County, Ohio, settlement; Ebisch (M.A., Illinois 1940) on the Arthur, Illinois, Amish settlement; Branson (M.A., Oklahoma 1967) on the small Amish community in Oklahoma; Landing (Ph.D., Penn State 1967) on the Amish community centering around Nappanee, Indiana; and Ries (Ph.D. Georgia, in process) on the Beachy Amish settlement near Montezuma, Georgia.

PSYCHOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF SOCIALIZATION

Psychology has given greater impetus to the study of child behavior than his sociology or anthropology. The focus has been at the immediate relationship between the socialization agent and the child. The studies have usually been closely linked to specific theories. The variety of studies is great, from the learning processes, to motivation and identification including the development of conscience, the varying effects of teaching techniques, classroom environment, language learning, cognitive structuring, and other subjects. There has been relatively little concern with the study of the adult outcome of socialization. The development of theory, techniques of measurement including replication of the results, and emphasis on sophisticated techniques have helped to produce a large amount of literature on socialization. Much of it is limited to small segments of socialization experience and to modern industrialized society. Major studies of socialization have crossed disciplinary lines in such collaborations as Kardiner and Linton, Kluckhohn and Murray, Miller and Swanson (1958), Inkeles and Levinson (1954), Whiting and associates (Whiting, B. 1963), Bonfenbrenner and Deveneux, and others. *Patterns of Child Rearing* by Sears et al. (1957) was a comprehensive study of early childhood in the United States.

Psychological studies of the Amish have been limited largely to tests that can be administered in the classroom. In personality inventory tests Engle (1943, 1945) found Indiana Amish children to be more submissive and introverted than the non-Amish but well adjusted emotionally. On the California Test of Personality he reported lower scores for the Amish than for Negroes or non-Amish school children, but noted that Amish boys were probably better adjusted within their social group than were the children in the control group. Engle (1944) found the Amish less favorably inclined toward the war than non-Amish children. Kohlhorn (M.A., Iowa 1941) described intellectual differences in an Iowa population. Lembright and Yammamoto (1965) compared the scores of Amish and urban American children on tests of creative thinking and also compared teacher's perception of pupils in the two cultures. Entwisle (1966) conducted word association studies among Amish and non-Amish children. Several additional M.A. theses reported the results of standardized tests between Amish and non-Amish samples: Flaughter (Pittsburgh 1951), Schlamp (Penn State 1952), Stuffle (Indiana State Teachers College in Pa., 1955), and Jantzen (Michigan State 1959). Smith (1958) published an article revealing differences in the scores of Amish and non-Amish pupils. In pursuing graduate studies in child guidance Joe Wittmer wrote a doctoral dissertation (Indiana State University 1968) on the personality traits of Amish young adults.

STUDIES OF AMISH EDUCATION

Summarized below are studies on Amish education, school participation, and reports covering the controversy between public schooling and the Amish.

There are two historical treatments of Mennonite education in the United States: J.E. Hartzler (1925) and M.S. Harder (1949). The first discusses early Mennonite attitudes toward education, the German preparatory school, and the parochial school, but since Hartzler was an aggressive proponent of Mennonite education his treatment ignores almost completely these groups of Mennonites who were opposed to higher education. A review of Hartzler's book by Harold Bender (*Goshen College Review Supplement*, May-June 1926) calls attention to this discrepancy and adds additional perspective. The Harder dissertation (Ph.D. in Education, University of Southern California 1949) is an attempt to cover the whole range of educational activity among the Mennonite groups in Europe, Russia, and North and South America, and for various Mennonite groups. The result is a very general picture of formal schooling from an institutional perspective. Leonard Froese (1949) wrote a doctoral dissertation on family life and education among the Mennonites in the Ukraine. Miller (1918) described Mennonite preparatory schools in an M.A. thesis (University of Chicago). Chapter length treatments of Amish education in regional cultural-historical works are contained in Melvin Ginerich (Iowa Amish

1939), Bachman (Lancaster County, 1941), Huntington (Ohio Amish 1956) and Smith (Lancaster County 1955, 1960).

The research studies of school participation are varied in the strength of their recommendations. Two were based on the Geauga County settlement in Ohio: Ryder (1926) published a journal article on "The Problem of the Amish as Related to School Attendance," and in a thesis based on the same community, Wentmore (M.A., Ohio State 1939) advocated centralized schools for the Amish and planned courses in vocational agriculture. Ely (M.A., Ohio State 1942) advocated strict enforcement of compulsory laws and "democratization of the Amish pupils" in the Wayne County area. Kester (M.S., Penn State 1943) in a study of the Amish in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, recommended an extension of the number of years spent in school and compulsory secondary education. Springer (M.A., Ohio State 1951) described the school dropout problem in an Ohio community.

A growing body of literature on the school controversy alone has spread from dissertations to the mass media and into journal articles and seminars. Haight (1958), Reed (1968) and Ball (1969) describe legal aspects of Amish schooling. In 1960 the Ohio Legislative Service Commission completed its report on "Amish Sectarian Education in Ohio." (Columbus, Ohio: 1960, 35 pp.). Erickson wrote several journal articles and more appeared after the University of Chicago's conference (planned by Erickson) on "Freedom and Control in Education, National Invitational Conference on State Regulation of Non-public Schools," March 28-29, 1967. The Conference featured papers by Ball, Elson, Henry, Hughes, Littell, Osborn, Pfeffer, Sanders, Strickland, and others, representing the fields of education, law, private schools, and civil liberties. The papers of the conference appear in Donald A. Erickson (Ed.), *Public Controls for Non-Public Schools* (University of Chicago Press 1969). The dissertation of Buchanan (Ph.D., Social Studies, Ohio State 1967) summarizes the Ohio "conflict and dentente" and describes the formation of an Amish private school, its goals, curriculum, and preference patterns.

IN GROUP PUBLICATIONS AND SOURCES

Two studies dealing with religious groups of germanic origin and the Pennsylvania Germans are Cavell (1929) and Stine (1942). The Amish preference for practical education and the distrust of academic learning came to the foreground with the onset of school consolidation and enforcement of compulsory attendance at secondary schools. Stephen F.

Stoltzfus (1937), published a short tract for the public in defense of the Amish position. A compilation of articles, letters, and documents expressing Amish principles and pleas for leniency were privately published by Shirk (1939, 1941, 1959). A statement of standards for private elementary schools was issued in Pennsylvania by Aaron E. Beiler (n.d.) and in Ohio by Henry E. Hershberger (n.d.). (See Appendix B, No. 22 and 24.) With the appearance of the monthly Amish journal for teachers, the *Blackboard Bulletin* (in 1957) a steady stream of Amish school literature has emerged. Titles expressing their ideals and responsibilities are contained in the works of Stoll (1964, 1965), Uria Byler (1960, 1963, 1969), Noah Zook (1963), and the Pathway Reading Series (Stoll, et al., 1963). The flow of privately printed tracts, broadsides, and reprints constitutes an important aspect of contemporary values. The content of the sources cited above are discussed in the section on world view, chapter IV.

III. PROCEDURE AND METHODS OF THIS INVESTIGATION

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROJECT

The principal investigator, who is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Temple University, was aided by an advisory panel of consultants representing various disciplines including anthropology, psychology, sociology, genetics, and education. The operative period of the grant for this research began on June 1, 1966, and ended August 31, 1969. The first meeting of the advisory group took place in Philadelphia on June 24 and 25, 1966. Subsequent planning sessions were held on October 22-23, 1966, at Ann Arbor, Michigan, and on March 28, 1967, at the University of Chicago in conjunction with the National Invitational Conference on State Regulation of Non-public Schools. A terminal conference for the purpose of reviewing the findings of the several participants and to advise on the final phases of the report was held at Temple University in Philadelphia, March 20-21, 1969. Principal consultants to the project were Dale Harris (psychology), Gertrude Huntington (anthropology), Calvin Redekop (sociology), and Harold Cross (genetics). Amish representatives met with the consultants on several occasions.

Field workers were selected on the basis of their knowledge and previous experience with Amish culture and their overall academic and personal qualifications and suitability. Contacts with the Amish informants and the selection of sample communities, schools, and pupils, varied with each of the project objectives. The procedures for each objective is discussed in more detail below.

PROCEDURE FOR FORMULATING THE WORLD VIEW

In formulating the world view (core values) the inductive method was used so as to permit the historical sources to "speak for themselves" on the whole range of human potentialities which might have been missed by a deductive design (for example, Kluckhohn and Strodbeck 1961). The underlying assumption is that every culture provides guidelines for child rearing and that these guidelines can be formulated from the society itself, whether literate or non-literate.

The task in this phase of the research was not to present a history of Amish education but to formulate the "core" values or "charter" of Amish education. The charter of an institution has been defined by Malinowski (1960:48, 52) as "the recognized purpose of the group," or "the system of values for the pursuit of which human beings organize, or enter organizations." This concept includes the moral values as well as the "blueprint" for social organization and practical procedures needed for daily living and survival of the culture. Malinowski defined an institution with its charter, norms, personnel, material apparatus, activities and function, in the society as the major "concrete isolates of organized behavior." The usefulness of this paradigm to field workers interested in community studies lies in its provision for understanding the ongoing community on several different levels including the human organisms involved ("personnel"), their behavior and social relationships ("activities and function"), their technology and productions ("material apparatus"), and the rules ("norms") whereby the personnel attempt to implement the charter. Viewing an ongoing local community in such a multifaceted model introduces us not only to a detailed general description of the educational processes but also to an understanding of the dynamics of change in the problem-solving requirements of the existential community.

A bibliography of primary source materials dealing with formal statements about child nature and child nurture was constructed. Relevant passages were extracted and filed topically. The time span covered by the sources for the formulation of world view and education was from the origin of the Mennonites in the sixteenth century to the present. Selections were translated from German to English and lithographed in a supplementary monograph entitled: *Anabaptist Conceptions of Child Nurture and Schooling* (1968). Selections appear in Appendix B. References are listed in the above monograph and in the terminal bibliography of this report. The early sources are uniquely Anabaptist and predate the Amish as a separate division of the Mennonites. Although the Amish division occurred from 1693-97, it was not until much later that one can distinguish Amish views on education as distinct from related Anabaptist groups.

This phase of the research was done by the principal investigator with the aid of Reformation historians, Amish informants, and persons who translated relevant portions from German to English.

PROCEDURE FOR DISCOVERING THE SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS

The task of observing the socialization patterns required a participant-observer relationship in the most important integrating unit of the culture, the ceremonial institution of "church district," which is composed of a residential group of married couples and their children. The methods employed in the research were the usual ones available to anthropologists. Most important was the establishment of residence in a large Amish community by the anthropologist, Gertrude Huntington, and members of her family in an unoccupied grandfather house on an Amish farm. As residents they were identified with a specific family, its network of kinship and visiting patterns, church district, and daily routine of farm and community activities. The methods of obtaining information were primarily through observation as participants and through informants of various levels of the population: the different age-sets from young to old, male and female, different affiliations of Amish, officials of the church, school teachers, and school board members. The interviews were informal and unstructured, but data were systematically obtained and recorded. Repeat visits to the family and community were important for obtaining seasonal information and longitudinal data on human growth and community changes.

PROCEDURE FOR DISCOVERING THE ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL OF PUPILS

To acquire a knowledge of Amish pupil achievement scores on standardized tests for comparison with non-Amish children within the American culture required the selection of representative Amish schools and securing the cooperation of the Amish schools in a manner that did not pose a threat to the culture.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TESTS

Many tests were examined with a view to their suitability for use in Amish society. Dale Harris, Head of the Department of Psychology, The Pennsylvania State University, served as consultant and advisor in this phase of the investigation, with Wayne Miller assisting and supervising the administration of the tests in the schools. We were confronted with the problem of choosing tests from those already in use or devising suitable tests of our own. Educational and psychological tests were widely used by school administrators and guidance counsellors, but the reliability and validity of many of the most frequently used tests for use among minority group children was in question. Many teachers who work with minority groups recognize that they can best guide the development of the intellect and character of the children in their charge if they take the time to understand these children thoroughly and sympathetically. Standardized tests present difficulties when they are used with minority groups: (1) they may not provide reliable differentiation in the range of the minority group scores, (2) their predictive validity for minority groups may be quite different from that for the standardization and validation groups, and (3) the validity of their interpretation is strongly dependent upon adequate understanding of the social and cultural background of the group in question (Deutsch, et al., 1964).

There are varied cultural characteristics of minority group children that affect test performance. Several studies of social class and socio-economic differences (Viz., Warner, Davis, Deutsch and Brown, Havighurst, Hollingshead, Sears, Maccoby, and others) report such characteristics. With reference to socio-economic levels, for example, it may be hypothesized that in contrast to the middle-class child the lower-class child will tend to be less verbal, more fearful of strangers, less self-confident, less motivated toward scholastic and academic achievement, less conforming to middle-class norms of conduct, more apt to be bilingual, and less knowledgeable about the world outside his immediate neighborhood. These characteristics are likely to be reflected in test performance. What is in question is the validity of the standardized test for such children. This may be particularly true if cultural factors interact with the consistency of performance from test to test for a single examiner, or even for different examiners.

We needed to assess the cultural goals of the Amish children as suited to the tests. If Amish children are given little reason to believe that doing well in the school will affect their chance for attaining better jobs and higher income later in life, what will be the probable result? The Amish children are socialized to see no purpose in formal schooling beyond the elementary grades. Do the children themselves reject the goals of the high school and learn to dislike schooling beyond that required by the culture. Will Amish test performance be characterized by a much greater amount of guessing, skipping and random responses than by children who never doubt the importance of testing, and who believe that a better job and more income lies ahead for them? These are some of the factors we took into account in choosing tests suited to the culture. Since we believed that the tests results may be influenced by cultural and subcultural differences, we were interested in the test-extraneous preconditions and response patterns among the different schools and in different religious affiliations of Old Order Amish (subcultures). Documenting these observations so that they could be related to the charter of Amish society was planned from the beginning of the study.

A basic criteria for the selection of tests was that the test be "proven" and suitable for normal and "healthy" children rather than the kind which measure pathological traits or tendencies. This is in keeping with the research design of assessing educational goals and achievement, not in a "problem" context, but in the context of the culture and intercultural relations. The areas selected for comparing Amish with non-Amish achievement variables were: vocabulary of the English language, ability to comprehend, spelling in English or German or both, English grammatical word usage, ability to use reference material, ability to solve practical arithmetic problems, use of sound reasoning technique and quantitative IQ. The areas covering reading, writing, and arithmetic, are important in terms of the Amish educational goals.

The tests selected for use are described below.

1. For testing intelligence, or what might be considered ability to do scholastic work, we chose the *Tests of Educational Ability, Technical Supplement for Grades 4-6, and 9-12*; Third Edition, 1963. Scores from three aptitude measures, language (L), reasoning (R), and quantitative (Q) are computed separately, but also combined to give a composite score. Although the test is designed to estimate scholastic ability, its scores also correlate with metal age scores of other tests.

Both of the above test batteries have been widely used in schools in the United States and it was therefore possible to compare the results. We chose to give them to our sample of Amish pupils for we believed that scores would yield some measure of pupil achievement, and that major differences between the U.S. and Amish pupils could be described from our observations in the schools and in the community.

2. For testing the areas of achievement in learning and skills we chose the *Iowa Tests of Basic Skills* (E.F. Lindquest and A.A. Hieronymus, Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964). Six of the eleven different

testing areas were administered to the Amish sample. They were: vocabulary, reading comprehension, spelling, word usage, knowledge and use of reference materials and arithmetic problem solving. Not used were tests in capitalization, punctuation, map reading, reading graphs, tables and arithmetic concepts. Scores on the Stanford Achievement Test were obtained for a sample of Amish and non-Amish pupils in the public schools.

3. *Goodenough-Harris Draw-a-Man Test.* (Dale B. Harris, *Children's Drawings as Measures of Intellectual Maturity.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1963). In order to obtain a measure of intelligence on a non-verbal level and as free from imposed cultural influence as possible we chose the Goodenough-Harris test. In addition to measuring intelligence, the test also yields insights on the relations of cultural influences to patterns of learning, the ability to form concepts, and the ability to conceptualize relationships. Cross-cultural use of the test has shown that children everywhere regardless of educational opportunity enjoy representational drawing, and that where literacy and book education exist development if more rapid than in non-literature cultures (Harris, 1964). The pupil is asked to draw a man, a woman, and himself and the drawings are scored using 100 as a mean standard IQ measure.

4. *The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator* (Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, 1962). The purpose of this test is to discover the way people prefer to use perception and judgment following Jung's (1923) theory of extravert-introvert types. "Perception" is understood to include the processes of becoming aware—of things or people or occurrences or ideas. "Judgment" is understood to include the processes of coming-to-conclusions about what has been perceived. If people differ systematically in what they perceive and the conclusions they come to, they may, as a result, show corresponding differences in their reactions, in their interests, values, needs and motivations, in what they do best and in what they like best to do (Myers 1962:1). The respondent is asked to indicate his preferences on 166 items.

5. *Gorham Proverbs Test* (Donald R. Gorham, "A Proverbs Test for Clinical and Experimental Use," *Psychological Reports. Monograph Supplement I*, 1956:1-12). The test provides a means of gathering data on the intellectual functioning of individuals with an objective method of scoring the responses. The use of proverbs interests the researcher because they presumably have been used to distill the wisdom of the various cultures into familiar sayings for its people.

The material in the proverbs nearly always consists of the familiar objects and events of everyday life. The purpose in giving it to Amish pupils was for exploratory rather than for clinical reasons.

6. *Piers-Harris Self-Concept Test:* "The Way I Feel About Myself." This test requires a yes-no response on an 80 item scale. Items are scored in the direction of high (adequate) self-concept so that a high mean score indicates a more favorable self-concept than a low score. The purpose in applying this test was to obtain some measure of self-conception among Amish pupils and compare it to other populations. (Ellen V. Piers and Dale B. Harris, "Instructions for Administering Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale." Unpublished and for research use only. Department of Psychology, The Pennsylvania State University (n.d.).

7. *Occupational aspirations:* "What kind of work I want to do when I grow up, and why." In this analysis, children's views are solicited through a topic essay. The responses are classified by age and sex and compared to the occupation of the household head. The purpose of this exercise is to investigate the focus of the children's values, attitudes, and social concepts and to relate them to the goals of the culture. This method has been used by Goodman (1957) for investigating the attitudes of Japanese and American children and by Ruth and Stanley Freed (1968) to study the occupational goals of children in India. The phrasing of the topical essay differed slightly in these two studies, and our investigation is based on the Freed wording of the topic.

8. *Freehand drawings:* (a) "Your house—the house in which you live;" (b) "An animal or a machine, any kind you wish;" (c) "My happy time—what you do that you most enjoy." The purpose of these drawings was to obtain a greater knowledge of the child's environment and especially how he conceives of these elements in his environment and his response to them. These drawings were obtained in conjunction with the Goodenough-Harris assignment, usually on the day following that assignment. The instructions for obtaining the drawings appear in appendix A.

HYPOTHESIS CONCERNING ACHIEVEMENT

The purpose of giving these tests to various samples of Amish pupils was to determine academic performances under varying degress of exposure to the American system of education. It is hypothesized that pupils in private school would be least exposed to alien influences, those in public schools where the total enrollment is made up of pupils of the Amish faith would presumably be less exposed to outside influences than the Amish pupils who were attending schools with non-Amish pupils. These samples, in other words, were segregated and non-segregated school populations. The categories were combined to obtain comparisons between the Amish and non-Amish populations.

The major hypotheses of the study with regard to academic achievement are (1) that non-Amish pupils are better achievers on standardized tests than Amish pupils and (2) that Amish pupils in public school (integrated) are better achievers than segregated Amish pupils. (Wayne Miller, 1969, assisted with this investigation and formed his doctoral dissertation on this problem.) Among the factors believed to support these hypotheses are the following: Amish children are bilingual. The second language they learn is English and therefore the degree of competence attained by Amish pupils would be less than among the non-Amish. Amish pupils have limited exposure to modern communication systems, radio and television media. Limited reading material is available in the home. There is a lack of parental encouragement to achieve in academic subjects. The restricted use of labor-saving farm machinery limits the amount of time that can be devoted to academic interests. Teachers in private Amish schools are limited in their formal training to eighth grade, and presumably a lack of training in teaching methods is reflected in the academic attainments of the Amish children.

For the purpose of this investigation it is assumed that the "traditional" Amish pupils are enrolled in the private (parochial) schools and that the "emerging" Amish (transitional) are enrolled in the public schools. The analysis will present the findings in the dichotomy of "traditional" and "emergent."

THE SELECTION OF SAMPLE POPULATIONS

The possibility of obtaining a random sampling of all Amish children for testing was impossible and impractical. There were geographical obstacles, varied schooling situations, and general reluctance on the part of Amish schools to allow their pupils to be tested. Attempts were made to obtain representative groups of school children in the desired categories as described herein.

In addition to testing on several grade levels, it was believed to be desirable to focus specific attention on the achievement of pupils in the eighth grade since the normative period of schooling for the Amish child ends with grade eight. Representative groups of pupils in eight grade (of at least 25 or more pupils) were obtained for the following categories:

The control group: Pupils in a modern rural school system were selected and matched for their general economic suitability to that of the Amish. No pupils in the school were Amish, formerly Amish, nor were there any Mennonite pupils in the school. All of the pupils in the control group were from one school system.

The sample populations were:

1. Amish in all-Amish public schools. (Amish pupils in public schools where all pupils are of the Amish faith.) Two schools.

2. Amish pupils in Amish schools. (Amish pupils in private or parochial Old Order Amish schools.) Fourteen school.

3. Amish in public schools with non-Amish. (Amish pupils in public schools where Amish and non-Amish pupils are represented in approximately equal proportions.) Three schools.

4. Non-Amish in public schools with Amish. (Rural pupils in public schools who attended school with the Amish in about equal proportions.) Three schools.

Several characteristics of the sample populations are given below.

Characteristics of the Control Group and Sample Populations Tested, Grade Eight

Characteristics	Control Group	Population 1	Population 2	Population 3	Population 4
Number pupils	27	28	61	26	34
Average number of children in the family	4.3	7.6	8.5	7.3	4.2
Years since family moved	6.5	13.5	11.5	10.5	7.13
Per cent of pupils who walk to school	11	09	70	0	11
Per cent of households where farming is the principal occupation	30	63	75	58	09

Pupils in grades lower than eighth who were given achievement tests were compared to those of the national norms except where otherwise indicated. The number of pupils varied by grade and by the type of test given. The principal problems in sample selection were: obtaining the consent and cooperation of the schools and their boards, a reasonable geographic distribution of schools, schools which were representative (in affiliation) of the Old Order Amish, and schools that were not so new as to introduce atypical conditions.

The Amish communities were found to be generally reluctant to permit testing in their schools. The purpose of the research was explained to several of the Amish school committee members. Local school committeemen and boards differed in their readiness to cooperate. There was no single organization that would approve or disapprove of the testing.

After the testing procedures were explained to the school personnel some decisions were negative, other requests were ignored, and other board members felt that "something" might be gained by testing. One regional school board chairman voiced no objection in conference but was reluctant to place his consent in writing. Few teachers would proceed without his approval. There was no real objection to testing in many instances but no one was willing to give formal permission. Some schools had unfortunate experiences with state departments of public instruction at a time when efforts had been made to consolidate schools and both teachers and pupils were forced to take tests. Uncomplimentary remarks by school superintendents or truant officers have been the source of much suspicion and the creation of social distance patterns between the Amish and public school authorities. One local superintendent's view of Amish schools was quoted in a newspaper: "I visited their school. I found one room, 19th century desks, early twentieth century textbooks, and a bunch of dirty, barefoot kids." In spite of their suspicion of outsiders, by perseverance in meeting with school boards and teachers, it was possible to obtain the cooperation of a sufficient number of schools for the investigation.

Taking sufficient time to explain the purpose of the testing, and to go over the tests themselves with school board members and teachers was important in obtaining cooperation. In one community two years elapsed between the time that tests were explained and approval was given. Many parents were not interested in a knowledge of their children's achievement scores and did not think that comparing them to those of other children in the United States was important. For those who did cooperate, we assured confidentiality of the names of pupils and schools, and that the scores would be given to the proper committeemen for release to the schools at their discretion.

The tests were administered by the research staff in each of the schools. The procedures were explained to all pupils in the presence of the teacher to promote clarity of purpose and to facilitate the mechanics involved. Meetings with the teachers for the purpose of explaining the test results proved to be of great interest to them.

The Old Order Amish schools included in the testing phase of the research numbered 14 schools with a total enrollment of 492 pupils. All were one-room schools except for two schools which had two rooms with the lower grades divided from the upper ones. The teacher-pupil ratio averaged one to thirty. The affiliations ranged from very conservative to progressive Old Order Amish, and spanned the states of Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, and province of Ontario. The control groups were selected from public schools in Michigan and Ohio. The total number of parochial Old Order Amish schools in existence at the time of the study was approximately 200. The pre-testing and attitudes of the pupils toward testing is discussed as part of the findings.

IV. THE ANABAPTIST-AMISH VIEW OF CHILD NATURE

In this chapter we will present the findings with respect to the Amish charter of child rearing and the transmission of values to the young. The larger world view of Amish culture is discussed in other publications (Huntington, 1956; Hostetler, 1968), but sufficient reference will be made here to time periods and cultural changes for illuminating the view of child nature. The findings are presented in two parts, (1) the European period, and (2) the American period.

THE CHARTER: THE EUROPEAN PERIOD

The primary sources used for the analysis of the European period include: Menno Simons (1496-1561) *The Complete Writings* (1956), Dirk Philips (1504-1568) *Enchiridion or Handbook of the Christian Doctrine and Religion* (1910), the hymnal used by the Amish entitled *Ausbund* (first edition 1564), the *Confession of Thomas von Imbroich* (original ed. 1558, published in *Martyrs' Mirror* 1951: 367-371), the *Martyrs' Mirror* compiled by Thieleman J. van Braght (original ed. 1660, and English ed. of 1951), and a few additional but less frequently cited sources as listed in Appendix B and in *Anabaptist Conceptions of Child Nurture and Schooling* (1968), a supplementary report to this investigation. The European period covers the beginnings of Anabaptism from about 1525 to the completion of the early Amish immigration to North America, about 1780. The findings are presented in the following postulates.

The conception of child nature: Children have an inherent carnal (evil) nature, but through their innocence and humility they also have potentialities for good.

Menno Simons says: ". . . we all, no matter who or what, are born with an evil and sinful flesh from Adam." ". . . we find nothing in ourselves from the heritage of our first birth but blindness, uprighteousness, sin, and death." (Simons 948). Children "are frequently full of mischievous tricks and wickedness, and are disobedient to father and mother, lie right and left, quarrel and fight with other people's children, and mock people as they pass by, crying after them and calling them names." (Simons 951). Parents should "Pray without ceasing . . . that the Lord may grant them (children) His grace, that they may resist the devil; subdue their inborn, sinful nature by the Spirit and help of the Lord; and walk from their youth before God and his church in all righteousness, truth, and wisdom, in a firm and sure faith, in unfeigned love and living hope, in an honorable and holy life . . . ." (Simons 948).

Menno Simons the most active organizer, writer, and defender, of the Anabaptists of the Netherlands, wrote a short discourse on "The Nurture of Children" during his later years or about the year 1557 (1956:951). An excerpt (editorially arranged for effect) expresses his basic assumptions on the subject of child rearing:

> Instruct your children
> from youth up
> and daily admonish them with the word of the Lord
> setting a good example.
>
> Teach
> and admonish them
> to the extent of their understanding.
>
> Constrain and punish them with discretion
> and moderation
> without anger or bitterness
> lest they be discouraged.
>
> Do not spare the rod if necessity requires it
> He that is too lenient with his child
> Is frightened whenever he hears a cry.
>
> A child unrestrained becomes headstrong as
> an untamed horse.
> Give him no liberty in his youth
> and wink not as his follies.
> Bow down his neck while he is young
> Lest he wax stubborn and be disobedient to thee.
>
> Correct thy son
> and keep him from idleness
> lest thou be ashamed
> On his account.

Dirk Philips a contemporary of Simons, observed that children "are in one respect like Adam and Eve before the fall, namely that they are innocent and blameless, understanding neither good nor evil." (Philips 25-26), and therefore ". . . sin is not imputed against ther unto damnation." As "long as they are in their simplicity," children "are innocent and reckoned by God as being without sin." ". . . there is something good in children (although they have become partakers of the transgression and sinful nature of Adam) namely, the simple and unassuming and humble nature, in which they are pleasing to God . . . ." (Philips 42-45). The notion of innocence is reaffirmed in the book of Martyrs (van Braght, *Martyrs' Mirror* 379): ". . . though children are conceived in sin, or born from sinful seed, yet they have never known, served or practiced sin from which they might be regenerated or converted . . . ." Furthermore, "no adult person can, through regeneration . . . become more sinless, holy and God-pleasing."

Before they were burned as heretics, a number of Anabaptist fathers and mothers gave touching last words of advice. Several expressed the hope that their children would die while in the age of their innocence. The innocence theme is supported by Philips (42-45) from the New Testament: "Christ makes it sufficiently plain to us why children are acceptable to God, inasmuch as he sets forth the children as an example, and moreover admonishes us that we should become like them." The Amish hymnal (*Ausbund*, first edition 1564: p. 549 of 1880 ed.) supports the innocence of the child and points out that it is the Antichrist who maintains that a child has inherited his sinful nature from Adam. Bishop David Beiler (1857:5-31) in America reiterated that in innocence ". . . children do not strive for honorable positions, for the favors of their fellowmen, for prestige, or high social status. They do not strive to gather riches, to live and act with vanity and pride in the manner of the world . . . ."

The conception of the ego and of self-will is explicit in several sources. If the "native disposition" of children "is to be broken, suppressed, and destroyed, it must be accomplished by the pure fear of the Lord, and from a certain knowledge of the righteous judgment and terrible wrath of God, which will burn eternally against all impenitent sinners . . . . It drives out sin and makes genuine pious children . . ." (Simons 949). In a letter to his wife while awaiting execution, Wouter Denijs wrote that in addition to teaching the children "with great diligence in the fear of God" she should "restrain them, lest they rule over you." (van Braght 760.)

The conception of parental responsibility: parents are responsible for training their children and are morally accountable to God for their spiritual welfare.

"If I see my neighbors ox or ass go astray, I must bring him back . . ." writes Menno Simons (387). ". . . how much more should I be concerned for the souls of my dear children who are so easily misled, and wander so easily from the right way . . . unless they are earnestly reproved and instructed in grace, they will fall into the hellish abyss of eternal death . . . Watch over their salvation as over your own souls. Teach them, and instruct them, admonish them, threaten, correct, and chastise them, as circumstances require. . . . you who sincerely love the Word of the Lord, instruct your children thus, from youth up, and daily admonish them with the Word of the Lord, setting a good example." (Simons 951.)

In a final letter to his wife an imprisoned Anabaptist, Dirk Smuel (van Braght 478) wrote, "see to it that you teach the children from their youth to fear God." Another martyr (van Braght 709) said, "one child that fears God, is better than a thousand ungodly children; . . . better to die childless than to leave ungodly children behind." In a last testament to his children and wife John Claess in 1544 (van Braght 469) said: "My dear wife, I request you to bring up my children, in all good instruction, to have my testament read to them, and to bring them up in the Lord."

Parental neglect of instructing children in the faith carries with it severe sanctions: "Take heed, lest the blood and condemnation be upon you" (Simons 951). . . . it behooves true Christians to teach, to admonish, to reprove, and to chasten their children; to set them an example in all righteousness, to rear them in the fear of the Lord, and to care for their poor souls lest through their negligence they depart from the true path, die in their sins, and so perish at last in their unbelief." (Simons 389.) ". . . all Christian parents should be as sharp, pungent salt, a shining light, and an unblamable, faithful teacher, each in his own home. The high priest Eli was held responsible because he had not reproved his children enough. . . . for if I do not wish to seek their salvation with all my heart and soul, then I will not escape my punishment. For in the day of the Lord their soul and blood, damnation and death, will be laid at my door as a blind and silent watchman." (Simons 387.)

Although parents have a greater responsibility to instruct their own offspring than for children "not of their own flesh," they are warned against "spoiling" them through natural love. "Beware of being too indulgent toward them, lest you incur the same punishment before the Lord as did Eli, who also was too indulgent towards his sons." (van Braght 695.) ". . . take heed that you do not spoil your children through natural love, that you do not offend, do not rear them in wickedness . . . to ignore (discipline), by reason of blind, carnal love, and to escuse . . . disgraceful tricks of children is a love not to be applauded. . ." (Simons 950, 952). Natural love must not inferfere with spiritual love.

In punishment "the rod is not to be spared" but is never to be used in anger or bitterness. "If they transgress, reprove them sharply. If they err, exhort them paternally. If they are childish, bear them patiently. If they are of teachable age, instruct them in a Christian fashion." (Simons 390.) "Do not spare the rod if necessity requires it, and reflect on what is written: He that loveth his son causeth him oft to feel the rod . . . constrain and punish them with discretion and moderation, without anger or bitterness, lest they be discouraged . . . . A child unrestrained becomes headstrong as an untamed horst." (Simons 951.) . . . be not bitter against them, lest they become dull, shy, or discouraged." (van Braght 750.) Parents condemned to martyrdom gave specific instructions for the punishment of their own children: "You are also to give them the rod, according to the command of the Lord, when they transgress and are obstinate; for this is also food for the soul, and drives out the folly which is bound up in their hearts." (van Braght 578.) . . . do the best with my children, to bring them up in the fear of God, with good instruction and chastening, while they are still young, for with the rod their back is bowed, and they are brought into obedience to their parents." (van Braght 798.)

The conception of the proper content of education: children must learn to read and write so they may discern the Scriptures that lead to a knowledge of salvation.

"Learnedness and proficiency in languages I have never disdained, but have honored and coveted them . . ." wrote Menno Simons (790). The last words from the lips of the martyrs to their children were pointed: ". . . learn to read and write, so that you may get understanding." (van Braght 646.) "Do not be backward in learning to apply yourself to books, so that when you have attained to years of understanding, you may seek your salvation." (van Braght 642.) ". . . use diligence to learn to read and write, that you may learn . . . what the Lord requires of you." (van braght 564.) ". . . run not in the street as other bad children do; rather take up a book, and learn to seek there that which concerns your salvation." (van Braght 984.)

While innocence was a virtue in children, ignorance and idleness was not. "Let no impure thought remain in your hearts, but engage yourselves with psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, and evil thought will have no room." (van Braght 646-650.) ". . . teach them to read and work." (van Braght 585.)

Working and learning to like work is considered inseparable from a proper education. "Learn to carry your hands always uprightly, and see that you like to work." (van Braght 984 ff.) ". . . attend to your work, and be not negligent through idleness, for idleness makes thieves of boys and harlots of girls . . . (so) that daughters reach the brothel and sons the gallows; this often comes from the fact that they are lickerish and will not work." (van Braght 947.) ". . . willingly work and labor with your hands that which is honorable, that you may have to give to him that needeth." (van Braght 801.) "Seek not to be a merchant, nor be anxious for great gain." (van Braght 646.) Parents must: "Teach them to spin and other handcrafts suitable, useful, and proper to their years and persons." (Simons 951.)

The purpose of learning is to acquire a knowledge of right from wrong which is necessary to salvation. Warnings against education for wrong ends are severs: ". . . the people of God . . . should not turn to such as have been educated in the universities according to the wisdom of men . . ." (van Braght 395). "I say with Socrates, very freely, that as far as human wisdom is concerned, I know but one thing, and that is that I do not know. But as to the heavenly wisdom, I am . . . taught of God . . ." (Simons 791). "We have not studied in Latin universities, but in the highly celebrated school of the Gospel, of which the Spirit of God is teacher." (van Braght 534.) "The world desires for its children that which is earthly and perishable, money, honor, fame, and wealth . . . . But let it be otherwise with you, who are born of God . . . (Simons 950).

The conception of the function of faith and the role of ceremony: children in their innocence are pure and in need of no ceremony; their entrance into the Kingdom of God (church-community) is through a knowledge of right and wrong, followed by faith and lastly by baptism as adults.

With the rejection of infant baptism, the nurture of children became especially important to Anabaptist groups. No cleansing value is associated with infant baptism. Anabaptists not only considered infant baptism as a ceremony "worthless" (van Braght 621), but also "a senseless, blasphemous abomination of all scriptures." (Konrad Grebel, in Krebs, *Quellen* . . . 1952:13.) Parents who are "sincere believers may assuredly rejoice and comfort themselve in the salvation of their children . . . they are saved; for they have the Lord's own promise of the kingdom of God; not through any elements, ceremonies, and external rites, but solely by grace . . . (Simons 135). If they die before coming to years of discretion, . . . they die under the promise of God . . . . And if they come to years of discretion and have faith, then they should be baptized." (Simons 241.)

A knowledge of right and wrong, of good and evil, is a requisite for baptism. Teaching children this knowledge is therefore a necessary step to salvation. Just as "no bath to wash off the filth of the body can be used on an unborn child, . . . so Christian baptism can be given to none but those who are regenerated by faith . . . and walk in newness of life." (van Braght 397.) "Adults by their penitent faith and infants in their innocence are acceptable to God, so long as they continue therein." (Philips 42.) "He who says that children are condemned on account of original sin, denies the death and blood of Christ." (van Imbroich 367.)

Expected behavior patterns of children: children ought not to be self-willed, but well-mannered, quiet, and obedient to parents and to God.

Children of believers "ought to be obedient to their father and mother, reverent where that is proper, after their speech honest, not loud, not stubborn, nor self-willed." (Simons 950.) While imprisoned at Antwerp, Lenaert Plower in 1560 wrote to his children: When your father was taken from you, it was not for any crime, but for the testimony of Jesus, and because I loved you unto death. Therefore, dear children, see that you obey your mother, and honor her, for it is written: Honor thy father and thy mother, that thou mayest live long in the earth, and that it may be well with thee . . . And be not obstinate, or gainsaying, or quarrelsome, but kind." (van Braght 642.) In a last letter to his only daughter, Jan Wouterss imprisoned in Dortrecht, wrote: ". . . first of all love and obey your dear, beloved mother. If your beloved mother gets to be an aged woman, always show her great honor; and always do your best with her." (van Braght 642.) A mother who gave birth to a child in prison wrote a remembrance to her one-month old daughter: "And where you have your home, obey those whose bread you eat. If they speak evil, do you speak well. And learn always to love to be doing something; and do not think yourself too good for anything . . . and always honor the aged wherever you are. (van Braght 985.) ". . . grieve not when you are corrected, and speak not crossly to those who correct you." (var Braght 646.) ". . . obey the commandments of the Lord, and also obey your uncle and aunt, and your elders, and all who instruct you in virtue," (van Braght 646.) "I pray . . . that you will be subject to your elders, not with eye service, to please men, but with all courtesy and modesty in their absence as well as in their presence, remembering that you serve not only men, but God," (van Braght 1076-78.)

Obedience to parents leads to obedience to God. Many of the martyrs implored their children to follow the example of their parents in faith and persecution. The *Ausbund* (27 ff) contains the martyr account of a woman and her seven sons. The oldest son was killed first, after his interrogators had cut his tongue off, chopped both arms and legs off and fried him to death in an iron kettle. The youngest son was a fair complexioned young lad whom the king wished to spare. The king offered him silver and gold and a high rank in his kingdom, but the little boy "remained steadfast in his mother's teachings," by dying in the same manner. Children were implored to obey despite persecution: "Love your enemies, and pray for those who speak evil of you, and afflict you. Rather suffer wrong, than that you should grieve another; rather be slandered, than that you should slander another; rather be robbed than that you should rob another." (van Braght 643.)

The conception of maturity and admission to adulthood: acceptance of social responsibility means total commitment to a believing church-community, materially and spiritually separated (nonconformed) from "worldly" standards, including association and marriage only with those of the believing-community, and willingness to suffer persecution or death to maintain the faith.

"Associate with those who fear the Lord, who depart from evil, and who do every good thing through love. Oh, look not to the multitude or the old custom, but to the little flock which is persecuted for the Word of the Lord. (van Braght 469 ff.) "All properly believing parents . . . would a hundred times rather see them jailed in a deep, dark dungeon for the sake of the Lord and His testimony than sitting with . . . drunken dolts in taverns, or in company of scorners who despise the name of the Lord and hate his Holy Word." (Simons 386.)

"Evil company" as well as "lusts of the flesh" are both to be avoided in the life of the mature believing person. Baptism signifies the acceptance of the moral and spiritual standards of the church-community. "Flee youghful lusts, for youthful lusts have plunged many into ruin, into lasciviousness, whoredom and many improper things. Therefore, my children, beware of . . . all unedifying conduct, in which whoredom has often originated; as dancing and leaping, and the practice of young men and maidens sitting together at the beer table, drinking to intoxication, and speaking improper words . . . (van Braght 801 ff) " . . . keep yourselves from the evil works of this world, the number of which is very great, that you be not condemned with it; for the world and all the lust thereof shall pass away, . . ." (van Braght 947 ff.) Other "pleasures of the world" to be avoided are lying and cheating, gambling, swearing, cursing, hatred, envy, excess, idolatry, covetousness, vanity, filthy conversation . . . though the world does not consider them sins, but amusements, (they) are nevertheless abominations in the eyes of the Lord." (van Braght 646 ff.) A hymn advises young men to "Live only where the believers live. Have nothing in common with other proud boys." (*Ausbund* 246.)

"And when they attain the age of maturity and have not the power of continence . . . do not let them keep company with those outside of Christ and His church, be they noble, rich, or handsome, as do the proud, avaricious, and the unchaste of this world; but let them keep company with those who fear the Lord, love, seek, honor, and follow, thank and serve Him with the whole heart, be they noble or common, rich or poor, beautiful or plain, for they are holy and children of saints, and therefore it should and must be done in the Lord. . . ." (Simons 389 ff.) "But when you grow up, and cannot contain, marry in the fear of God. Pray God to provide you a faithful helpmate, to walk in the fear of God, with a broken, lowly, humble heart." (van Braght 801.)

The core values held by the Anabaptists with respect to child nature were formed during a period of religious revolt and redefinition of larger economic and social norms. They shared with the medieval church many of the general conceptions of birth, healing, discipline modesty, innocence, and age categories (Aries 1962). Their attempt to form a church separate from the state and thus establish a new criteria for membership, namely voluntary adult membership rather than infant baptism, was unique with the Anabaptists and led to the distinctive conceptions we have just described. No issues that gave rise to the Amish division under the leadership of Jacob Ammann (Gascho 1937) from 1693-97 were not differences over education but centered in a number of specific practices favoring a "stricter way of life." No evidence has been found in European sources that Amish formal beliefs about education differed from those of their parental Swiss Anabaptist group.

THE CHARTER: THE AMERICAN PERIOD

Since the Amish settled in this country (from 1727) they have maintained an agriculturally-related economic base. Their communities are religiously oriented, and the bonds that tie them into cohesive units are spiritual and symbolic. They have had no scholars to formulate their beliefs, nor to explain them to outsiders, except on occasions such as in a time of crisis. The early American Amish views of education are derived largely from admonitions of elderly parents to their children and grandchildren. The Colonial Mennonite teacher Christopher Dock (Studer 1967) is today quoted by the Amish, but there is no evidence that he was known by the early Amish settlers in the United States.

The sources used for the formulation of the contemporary charter are drawn principally from the writings of Amishman George Jutzi (1843), David Beiler (1857), Eli J. Bontreger (c. 1910), Daniel E. Mast (1930), Johannes Esch (1944), Joseph Stoll (1965, 1967), Uria Byler (1969), from a number of pamphlets, tracts, and broadsides, and from the publications of the Pathway Publishing Corporation, particularly the journal for promoting Amish schools, *The Blackboard Bulletin*. Relevant passages in German were translated into English, and together with other sources appear in Appendix B and in a supplementary report: *Anabaptist Conceptions of Child Nurture and Schooling* (1968). The more generalized Amish view of biblical history, of world history, of government, of civic responsibility, of communism, etc., is reflected in two of their school textbooks: Noah Zook, *Seeking a Better Country* (1963), and Uria R. Byler, *Our Better Country* (1963).

With the advent of compulsory education beyond the elementary grades, the consolidation of small schools, and the teaching of subjects quite distantly related to farming, the Amish gradually began to organize their own school system. The contemporary charter aids us in understanding the basic cultural conflict between Amish core culture and that of the public school system. From contemporary sources we were able to construct both the goals of Amish schooling as well as the values most threatening to the Amish culture. In formulating their position, the Amish quote widely from educators not of their faith and from older American school publications, and from sources as varied as John Bunyan, Charles A. Wells, Edgar A. Guest, John Steinbeck and others. Such outgroup materials were also significant for the analysis. Again, it must be pointed out that these findings are the formal or ideal aspects of the culture; what is actually practiced in the existential community will be discussed later.

The conception of the nature of children: although children have an inherited Adamic evil nature through no fault of their own, they are also loving, teachable, and with the proper invironment are capable of assuming responsibility to God and man for their actions by the time they become adults.

The evil nature vs. the good nature reoccurs in the writings of the contemporary community. An editorial in the *Blackboard Bulletin* (hereafter abbreviated with date and page number, viz: BB 2/62:3) asks what would happen to children who were put on a tropical island and grew up without the influence of adults: "Would they grow up in a spirit of brotherly love kind and considerate of each other's welfare? Or would the Adamic nature gain the upperhand in the lives of these castaways?" The writer cites a biblical passage indicating that "the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth (Genesis 8:21), and states that "Children do not need to be taught to quarrel and fight or to selfishly claim the largest peice of cake." On the other hand children have "natures that adults are entreated to copy. Except we become as little children we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven (Matthew 10:3)." An American Indian notion of two contesting natures within man is cited. "There are two dogs fighting in my heart, a black one and a white one. The one I give the most meat is the one that wins." The editor states that adults "are largely responsible for the spiritual meat" the child gets. It is understood that if the good aspect of child nature is undernourished, the evil nature will prevail.

The evil Adamic, or sinful nature is stressed more by the "emergent" or fundamentalist Amish than by the more stable, or "traditional" Amish. The latter appear to be more concerned about the influences to which their children are exposed than they are about the more speculative question as to whether children are wholly good or evil.

Stress on the natural evil in children: "The deep-seated wickedness of youth" is reiterated by one writer who cites selections from Christopher Dock. (BB 2/9:6-9) The teacher's task is to "weed out the wickedness" and "plant good things in their stead." Eli and Lydia Garber (Arkansas) quote from Proverbs (25:15): "Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child." They caution parents that "play comes naturally and needs not be encouraged in healthy normal children. If they become so absorbed in playing competitive games that it is hard for them to break away to perform useful duties, they will only find it harder to forsake such idleness and childishness after they have grown to adulthood. This we can observe in the vain and foolish competition in sports in our nation. And worst of all such things have deceptively crept in and infected our grown people, . . . and even some of our young married men! Are we become so carnal and fleshly that we cannot bear reproof . . . ." (BB 1/66:112.) The same writers observe: "That which is good, the children never learn by themselves." The trace of anger detected in the small child proves the existence of the inborn nature of the old man, which from early childhood wants to develop all manner of folly and mischief contrary to godliness."

Other writers mention the need for early training so that the child's roots will be set deeply in the faith, will grow up to be a child of God rather than a child of the devil. If not influenced, the child "will follow his sensual feelings, receiving carnal attitudes and seeking kindred fellowship." (BB 4/61:4.) "Children obey your parents, then the divine mustard seed can grow. And if you fail to grow in this, then you are serving Satan, and the seeds of darkness of this world will continue to grow in you to your utter destruction unless you repent." (Mast 1930:435.)

A point of view that is less pessimistic of the evil nature but stresses the opportunities of what the child may become might be termed:

Stress on the adaptability of child nature: "A child is a complex creature writes Byler (1969:15). "Basically they are loving, tender-hearted, affectionate, and well-intentioned individuals who will do anything in their power to please the teacher. When our Savior said, 'Suffer the children to come unto me . . .,' He did not consider them basically mean, mischievous, hard to handle or He would not have spoken those words." "A healthy child is full of exuberance and pep, and may in an unguarded moment, unwittingly overstep the rules," says Byler, (1969:21) but any "child that is taught in a true Christian environment and brought up to respect authority . . . will not cause the teacher any trouble." References to Satan "ever knocking on the doors of their young hearts" (Nisley BB 1/67:134) implies that the key to whether a child will become good or evil depends eventually on the will. What he chooses depends in part on his environment. In reply to the proposition that "children are endowed with a lot of natural mischief" Byler (BB 2/60:5) believes children are an mischievous in school as teachers allow them to be. "Bad" children may simply be reflecting the parents and teachers. Conversely the pupil will be "good" if the teacher expects him to be good.

Explanations of childhood deviancy are not invariably attributed to the inherent evil nature as is pointed out by the editor of the *Blackboard Bulletin* and other teachers who write for this journal. Discipline problems and lack of cooperation in schools may be due to personal and social insecurity, boredom, or mental retardation. The lazy child is explained as the one who has allowed the "lazy side" of his nature to overcome his "get-it-done" side. The refusal to work in school is not categorically condemned as laziness.

The traditional Amish community tends to view the child's nature as more neutral than entirely evil. The child is equally capable of being good or evil depending on his environment. Thus "regardless of what some child authorities say, a child should be led to feel more and more his responsibility to God for his actions as he grows older . . . . Shielding a child from responsibility will likely make him an irresponsible adult." (BB 3/62:3.) The practice of not baptizing children permits an optimistic view of child nature. Baptism in most communities does not occur until the age of about nineteen. There is a certain tolerance of youthful waywardness before taking the vow of baptism, but this laxness is usually attributed to inadequate home training.

Conception of the child as a learner: the child is viewed as a passive receptor of correct attitudes and facts; independent thinking and inquiry is encouraged so long as such thinking does not challenge the basic values of the Amish way of life.

In a poem "Parents, Awake," Mrs. Joe D. Byler writes: "Do you press on infant memories psalms of praise to God with prayer? Or do Satan's gilded idols leave the most impression there?" (BB 4/64:12.) The conception of learning through "pressing" of ideas, rules, and correct knowledge on the child is a persistent one. This view is supported by references to the child as "soft, pliable clay" which must receive the correct impressions before it solidifies if the child is to become a good, sturdy Christian. (BB 5/58; 8/66.) Other terms used are "molding" the child's thoughts (BB 11/58; 5/67), and the term "jelly-stage of childhood." (BB 5/59.) "Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old, he will not depart from it," (Proverbs 22:6) appears on the masthead of the school periodical and support the conception of the good child as a passive receptor. An equally emphasized scripture passage appears on the letterhead stationery of the Pathway Publishing Corporation: "Ask for the old paths . . . the good way, and walk therein and ye shall find rest for your souls." (Jeremiah 6:16.) The emphasis is upon conditioning the child so that he will want to follow "the good way and walk therein."

Children are "innocent lambs" and "flocks" who need to be led "forward and onward" by teachers (BB 11/58; 11/66.) There is a parallel relationship of Amish children to their teachers and the relationship of the adults to God. Although the imagery of lambs and shepherds are not peculiar to the Amish, few Christian groups have as close an affinity to the image as do the Amish. The sheep analogy is used in contemporary writings and in poetry, as for instance in Elmo Stoll's "Parable of the Trees." (BB 11/66: 246.) The direct and very informal relationship of Amish adults to God and its lack of an elaborate institutional approach, permits an adult view of themselves as passive clay in the hands of God, the potter. (BB 11/58.)

The repetition and rote memorization stressed in the learning process in schools is consistent with the molding, shaping, and conditioning view of child nature. Spelling correctly is highly prized and spelling bees are important events in many schools. Naming correctly all the presidents of the United States is important to them. Factual tests covering geography and history are given greater emphasis than efforts at showing relationships. Whether the children are spelling or learning spiritual truth (the content of religion), rote memorization is important. The program of one vocational school is described as the three R's "plus memory work in German." (BB 11/66.) One teacher tells how he writes current event items on the blackboard and the children copy them into their notebooks and then illustrate them. (BB 1/66.) Through the process of copying and repetition, facts and ideas are imbedded in the mind, so that they can be called forth when needed. (BB 4/63.) The emphasis on total recall of "correct knowledge" and the conception of the child as pliable clay or as a lamb to be led are fully consistent with the view of the child as a passive receptor rather than an active discoverer of truth.

Emphasis on independent critical thinking is minimal and encouraged when it does not conflict with basic Amish values. Individual differences among children are recognized but not encouraged. How children learn is of less direct interest than what is learned. The great concern with Christian character building overshadows any preoccupation or extensive interest in the processes of learning. There are differences of opinion expressed in the material we have examined. An active view of the role of the child in the learning process is expressed by the teachers and writers who have given the most leadership to the Amish school movement. Parents and board members appear to maintain the more traditional view of the child as a passive receptor. One teacher observed that after he had taught school for a number of years it is sometimes difficult for people to understand him because "teaching is so far removed from farming or housekeeping that it takes just a little different kind of thinking than that which is reflected in everyday living." (BB 11/67.) With Joseph Stoll, Uria Byler, Lydia F. Beiler and others, learning is not as simple as "stamping" or "pressing" in the right answers through the process of drill. Stoll takes issue with teachers who become too bound to text books and thereby fail to consider student needs and interests: "A teacher is a failure who has taught her pupils only to memorize facts." (BB 9/67.) A major weakness of the Amish schools, complained one teacher, is not helping the child to learn to think for himself." (BB 2/62.) Lydia F. Byler suggested that children may ask too many questions just to avoid thinking for themselves. (BB 8/64.) Rather than dispense answers the teacher should help the child do his own thinking, according to Byler.

Some experienced teachers feel that "the child's creativeness may be permanently suppressed," if there is too much or too harsh "unscrupulous criticism." (BB 5/64.) There is an awareness of psychology, though seldom are words like "retention," "creativity," "self-learning," or "suprssed," used by the Amish. Using a psychologists's claim that eighteen is the most efficient time for learning, Stoll wrote an editorial in favor of more self-learning before the children leave formal schooling at age fourteen, so that they can continue to learn at their peak efficiency after they leave school. He observed that a self-taught student is more successful in learning and has better "memory retention," (BB 5/64).

The primary role of the child is to learn "settled knowledge" whether that knowledge be arithmetic or the Ten Commandments. The major emphasis in the *Blackboard Bulletin* and in the teaching materials is moralistic and didactic. In the limited attempt to encourage creativity, children are not encouraged to examine critically the assumptions of their own way of life or that of the larger culture as expressed in the history texts they use. Such an emphasis lends itself to a conception of the child as a subject for indoctrination rather than free inquiry to stress on subject matter rather than problem-solving (as defined by Dewey), and to correct answers rather than a range of alternatives. In such a world view the child becomes primarily a receptor of the knowledge he needs for salvation and for his daily bread.

The conception of socialization in relation to family and community: limited individualism is encouraged; with stress on faithful adult behavior as the model for the child, the family in a nonconform environment, are given the primary responsibility for training the child for life.

Obedience training is a pervasive theme running through all the sources. Obedience, quietness, endurance, and patience must be learned in the home before the child can be taught school subjects (BB 1/68:134). "Self-will shows up early in youth. We can observe that in our own children. And disobedience is often the beginning of many sins, leading eventually to a bad end." (Beiler 1857:5-13.) "If a child knows enough to get angry, then is the time to make it obey." (Peachy 1941:5.) The emphasis on breaking self-will appears to be stressed more in the "spiritual testaments" (last writings) of fathers to their children than in the *Blackboard Bulletin*. "If the child's self-will is not conquered, then you have lost a great advantage in disciplining your child. But if you have overcome it by force, then let him know that you are sorry that it was necessary to punish him to break his will. The younger you break the child's own will, the easier it is done, and the better it is for both you and him." (Mast 1930:458.) Mast (1930:435) wrote: "Dear children, if your parents are truly converted to God and seek God's favor in your behalf, you should honor their admonition, even though you are over twenty-one years old, or even past forty." Obeying parents "involves more than merely doing what they ask you to do; it also means to give heed to their spiritual admonition, when they direct you to the plan of salvation. Some parents are . . . so inexperienced, that they can be of little help to their children along this line. These can take their children to church where they have the opportunity to develop their own conception of God from time to time . . . that the good seed may grow, and they become useful members in God's church." (Mast 435.)

Contentment with life as it is, not ambition to change it is a keynote of Amish life and an orientation Amish children learn early in life. The Amish do not want their children to be upwardly mobile as the term is used in American society. Advances in the moral and religious spheres of learning are emphasized more than the academic or the economic. Those who become "mobile" are apt to leave the community geographically, culturally, and religiously. The Amish adults assert that the big difference between the Amish parents and American parents in general is that the Amish do not want their children to be "better off" than they were. Amish parents want their children to live the same plain, contented life as they and their parents had lived. An editorial quotes John Steinbeck as saying that Americans are afflicted with "child sickness;" that no longer are parents happy to have their children grow up like themselves, but children must now be "guided, pushed, admired, disciplined, flattered and forced" to grow up to be better socially, financially, and professionally than their parents. (BB 9/67:51; John Steinbeck in *Reader's Digest*, September 1967.)

Concern for the grandchildren and the oncoming generations are common. Esch (1944) tells his own children, "It will be one of your most important tasks to admonish your children who are already saved to hold on to faith and truth, and to bring the rest to find the saving faith and to keep it for life." There is little reflection on how the family should train except by "word and example," by prayer, and by the family's being separated from the world. Parents "must act on the basis of mutual agreement. They must be good examples . . . while earnestly praying to the Lord for his blessing and grace." (Beiler 1857:5-13.)

Submission to God and to elders is normative in personality development. Humility, and maintaining an attitude of submission and "lowliness" is important. Beiler (1857) asks: "Now, what is the Lord teaching us by his word? First of all we are to recognize our sinful nature and inclinations, . . . that nothing good dwells in our flesh. Therefore it is very important to arrive at a state of spiritual poverty. Man must come to feel that by nature there is nothing good in him . . ." The de-emphasis of the individual and submission to God is rooted in the will of God. Children are never to "show off." Jutzi (1843), told his children: "Both the Old and New Testaments command you to bring them up in the fear and admonition of the Lord." He warns that parents who neglect their duties in teaching their children are in danger "at the day of judgment" of seing their own children "at the left hand of the Judge." Children are admonished "not to make trouble for the parents," who "experience much trouble in raising you, and you should honor your parents for their trouble." (Peachy 1941:6.)

The child's ability at self-direction is viewed, not as hopeless, but as limited. The child is recognized as an individual. The parents are responsible for early religious training, the child is regarded as a member of the family and of the community, and potentially a member of the church. The will of God is that all Amish children become Amish adults—not through exercising intellectual powers, but through molding their lives after those of their parents and teachers. The salvation of the individual depends on his will, on his faithfulness as an individual, not upon his ability to introspect or to assert his independence from parents, community, or God. The role of the school is to protect the "seed" that has been sown in the home, to train rather than convert, and to cooperate with the parents to preserve the faith.

The conception of the goal of schooling: the goal of the school is to teach the children the skills they will need to live as productive Amish adults and eventually receive an eternal reward from God. As a protector of the "seed" sown in the home, the school must maintain a climate within which the child leans to act, think, and believe as his community ordains.

Clearly there are differences in what is expected of the Amish school in the contemporary charter. The range of differences might be termed "traditional" and "emergent." The traditional goal is to teach the "children to learn their 3 R's and all the rest which is needed to prepare them for their future, but minus the dangerous consequences which the children might have been exposed to in public schools." (Byler 1969:13.) There was little need for separate schools a half century ago, says Byler, because: "The countryside was still studded with the little one-room schools in which the three R's were emphasized minus the modern embellishments of TV and radio. The modern progressive educational theory of John Dewey was still in its infancy and the country schools were not touched by the unchristian spector of sex education. In a silent sinister, evil way all this gradually was changed. The country schools were closed one by one. Consolidation, under the mask of more 'efficient' instruction methods . . . by the rich and powerful education lobbies. This consolidation trend brought other problems along in its wake; long bus trips to and from school, gym classes, more homework and other problems which many Amish parents were finding increasingly hard to go along with." (Byler 1969:4-5.)

Although religious emphasis is present in the school, the Old Order Amish want the school to be a school and not primarily an institution for teaching religion. "Regardless what amount, or how much time is spent on religious teachings, and this can be decided by the school board in the interests of harmony, a teacher should not feel duty-bound to convert a child. Let's not lose sight of the fact that the Amish schools have not been set up to convert our children, but to educate them. It is the parents responsibility, and not the teachers, to make Christians out of the children."

Byler explains that "a teacher's main concern on the spiritual well-being of his pupils should not be on what can be done in school to promote it, but rather on running the type of an orderly wholesome, well-behaved school so that the good morals that the parents have implanted into that little heart will not be harmed." (Byler 1969:21.) David S. Esh (BB 3/62:4) writes: "I still believe in what our parents handed down, which is to teach the three R's, reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic, taught to the tune of a hickory stick, with love and good cheer, but with firmness. Let us teach more meekness and humbleness and practice it ourselves." In matters of secular education, it is admitted that the Amish schools have "no advantage" over the public schools, but the Amish schools provide an environment "removed from the ways of the world in dress and actions," and from "immoral, atheistic, and profane homes." (BB 5/61:4; 1/59:2.)

The difference between the Christian and the non-Christian teacher is contrasted by one Amishman who wrote: "Non-Christian teachers try to make good boys and girls by having them follow certain rules, such as 'be honest, be kind'; and commending them in a wrong way for faithfulness. By doing this the teachers lead the children to the place where they are satisfied with self to the extent that they do not feel their need for help or some higher power. Their view of the child is either that he is a-moral or that he is in the evolutionary process of becoming better and better and that he himself possesses the power to do so. A Christian teacher aims to do just the opposite. Instead of leading them to think they can adhere to certain rules of conduct and morality of their own strength, they will lead the pupils to see their inability to attain such a high standard. In this way they will be brought to see and feel their need of some higher power in order to lead worthy lives and attain worthy objectives. This need will be met in Jesus Christ." (Yoder 1952:567.)

There is clearly a trend among some parents and teachers toward making the school an institution for promoting "spirituality" or formal instruction in religion. One teacher reported that the first word that her first graders learned to read was GOD. (BB 10/67:237.) Another said that she hoped the students would work as hard for their eternal goals as they do for stars and report cards. (BB 12/58:2.) The extent of religious emphasis in the schools is an issue discussed at the annual meeting of teachers. In the national teachers meeting in 1960 it was the consensus that teachers should limit their teaching to subjects in the books (BB 9/60:1), but two years later it was the consensus that schools must take seriously the "deeper needs" of pupils which cannot be covered by the three R's. (BB 9/62:1.) Teachers and parents who want religion promoted in the school tend to see child nature as more difficult to manage and consequently emphasize the evil or sinful nature of the child. These persons tend to be of the emergent type and more progressive theologically.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of the Charter: the European Period

1. Child nature is believed to be inherently carnal (evil) but through innocence, humility, and simplicity, children have potentialities for good.

2. Parents are responsible for training their children and are morally accountable to God for teaching them right from wrong and for transmitting to them a knowledge of salvation.

3. Children are urged not to be idle but to learn to read and write so that they may acquire a knowledge of the scriptures. Learning manual skills that are useful for making a living are encouraged along with literacy.

4. Children during their age of innocence are regarded as pure and not in need of ceremonial baptism. Should they die in their innocence original sin is not imputed to them on account of the death of Christ. Their entrance into adulthood and into the church-community is through a knowledge of the scriptures, followed by faith, and finally by baptism after attaining adulthood.

5. Obedience to parents and ultimately to God is a cardinal virtue. Children are not to be self-willed, but well-mannered, quiet and humble.

6. Acceptance of mature social responsibility is through total commitment to a believing church-community,

materially and spiritually separated from worldly standards, including association and marriage with other members of the believing community, and a personal willingness to suffer persecution or death in order to maintain the faith.

Summary of the Charter: the American Period

1. Although children are believed to have an inherited sinful nature through no fault of their own, they are loving and teachable, and with the proper environment are capable of assuming responsibility to God and man for their actions by the time they become adults.

2. As a learner, the child is viewed as a passive receptor of correct attitudes and facts. Independent thinking and inquire is encouraged so long as such thinking does not challenge the basic religious values of the culture. How children learn is of less direct interest than what is learned.

3. The family, and to a lesser extent the school, are believed to have the primary responsibility for training the child for life. Limited individualism is encouraged within the concept of faithful adult behavior as the model for the child. It is believed that the child must have an explicit relationship to his parents, siblings, church, community, and school to achieve adequate *training* for adult life.

4. The school is viewed as an instrument to teach the children the needed literacy and skills to live as productive adults in an environment where values taught in the home are continuous and function throughout the life cycle. The home and the church rather than the school are responsible for the religious training of the young.

Conclusion: View of Human Nature and Original Nature

The concept of "original sin" as a part of human nature has important implication for socialization, and this concept is stressed by some writers more than others in the primary sources we have discussed. The sources reflect the great issues of social and religious conflict between the Anabaptists and the Reformers, and for the most part a discussion of the conception of human nature lay outside of these controversies. The insistence on adult baptism was one of the central issues of conflict, but the notion of "original sin" was much older than the Reformation. Divergent positions on the view of original nature, with the Anabaptists on the one hand, and the main line Reformers on the other, becomes very clear from a careful study of the sources we have examined.

The term "original sin" does not occur in the New Testament, although the basic idea of the doctrine is found in Paul's epistles, Rom. 5 and I Cor. 15 (Zijpp 1959). It was not until the days of Augustine (d. 430) that the idea became a central issue on Christian doctrine. Augustine taught that man became completely corrupt by the fall of Adam; that he can do no good whatever (denying any freedom of the will), hence has to rely wholly upon God's forgiving grace, which the believer received underservedly through the atoning death of Christ. Augustine defended this thesis against Pelagius (a British monk), who denied the sinfulness of man and thus asserted that man can do good of his own volition.

The main line Reformers, both Lutheran and Calvinistic, renewed the Augustinian position of total corruption (or depravity) and of man's inability to do any good, mainly in opposition to both Catholic doctrine and the teachings of the humanists (like Erasmus) who taught that man has a completely free will.

The Anabaptists were for the most part outside of all these controversies. The issue of original sin was for them of significance only as they found themselves in religious debates or polemics where they had to defend their position against their Catholic and Protestant opponents.

Both Protestantism and Anabaptism derived their view of human nature from the Bible but their thought developed in divergent directions. The Anabaptists believed in the freedom of the will, in the sense that with the help of divine grace man may overcome evil tendencies in his character and obey the divine commandments. Without the freedom of the will, Anabaptism loses its meaning. The Anabaptists believed in and strongly emphasized spiritual rebirth (John 3:3), the transformation of "natural" man into "spiritual" man who now can see his new way, and likewise feels his power (received through a spiritual experience) to resist evil, sin, disobedience to God, pride, and selfishness, which formerly might have dominated his character. Of course, such newly gained strength is never a complete guarantee against possible backsliding and life remains a continuous struggle between the two natures of man.

On both points the Reformers took a different direction, remembering Paul's cry of desperation: "For I know that in me dwelleth no good thing" (Rom. 7:18), but overlooking his assurance that the believer has actually died to sin. Thus the controversy developed between the Augustinian position on the one hand and the evangelical on the other: the awareness of one's basic corruption versus the divine call to discipleship, something which the Reformers considered well-nigh impossible or held to be a pharisaical position.

The Anabaptists distinguished between two separate problems (Zijpp 1959): (1) the function of original sin in infants who do not yet know the distinction between good and evil, and (2) the role and working of original sin in the life of adults before and after conversion.

The first problem deals of course also with infant baptism as considered necessary by the Catholic Church to save these infants from hell. On this point all Anabaptists were unanimous. Although sin, handed down through the generations through the Adamic nature, inescapably leads to temporal or physical death ("The wages of sin is death"—an oft-quoted verse in Anabaptist tracts) of both children and adults, it does not mean condemnation to eternal death or hell, since Christ has died for all mankind and thus reconciled God and man. Thus He died also for the innocent children. In this regard they were sure of God's grace made efficacious through Christ's supreme sacrifice. Whether we read Riedemann or Marpeck or Menno Simons or the Hessian Confession of 1578, there is no difference on this point: infant baptism as a saving sacrament has no justification. Indeed to calim that unbaptized children should be eternally lost was in their eyes either blasphemy or an expression of lack of faith. Hans Schlaffer said that the Christian life is no child's play (meaning infant baptism) but an adult matter requiring stern discipline and vigorous ethical living (Littell 1964:70).

The understanding of sin in adult life if very different. They did not deny its presence or power in the body, the inclination or tendency toward evil (*Neigung or Neiglichkeit*), or in "temptation." It is helpful to remember (as discussed in Chapter I) that the Anabaptists shared the radical dualism of the Testament, that is, the contraposition of the world of the devil and darkness and the Kingdom of God and of light. Similarly they accepted the Pauline dualism of flesh and spirit, nature and supernature. "Through conversion," Pilgram Marpeck asserts, "man came from nature into supernature (*aus der Natur in die Uebernatur*) and became a spiritual being." Without such dualism the experience of true conversion and rebirth would completely lose its meaning. As soon as man enters the new "covenant of a good conscience with God: (I Peter 3:21), that is through baptism, he is determined to resist this inclination to sin, and will bring his flesh under the discipline of the spirit. Only thus can he try to be obedient to God's commandments and be assured that it is possible "to be as pure as the newborn babes" (Ulrich Stadler, 1536, quoting I Peter 2:2).

Even with the fall of Adam, Anabaptists held that God was a gracious God and did not withdraw his breath from Man. In other words, the "image of God" (also called "breath of God)" remains with man and distinguishes him from the rest of creation. Man, created in God's image and capable of loving, therefore has the freedom of conscience to deliberately accept or reject God's commandments, that is, the freedom to either obey or disobey. Not the flesh, not procreation, not any natural process as such is sinful; rather sin must be understood as being rooted in "knowledge:" *Die Sünde steht im Wissen.*

In short, man is born with a tendency toward evil, which tendency can be observed even in a young child, but such a tendency may not yet be called "sin," as it has not become a conscious act of the will. Only conscious acts have the quality of obedience or disobedience, faith or sin, and it is only when we are sinning consciously and deliberately that this inborn tendence may be understood as "original sin." It is at the same time that man is called to repentance and conversion. Baptism upon faith is dying to sin, for it means that man has been made free in Christ.

The Anabaptist position on the nature of human nature has given rise to great stress on teaching the young. In his defense of the separation of church and state of which adult baptism was an integral part, and in redefining the role of the church, Menno Simons (1956 edition) wrote at least twenty-four pamphlets which were issued in a book after his death. There seems to be hardly a single point of doctrine and controversy that he overlooked. Advice to parents and his instructions for rearing children were not missed in the heat of the larger disputes of reform. As a pastor he was confronted with practical problems of family and earning a living. His writings are to this day read and quoted by all the various Mennonite groups including the Old Order Amish. His strong emphasis that the purpose of education is to train children "in the way of the Lord" is the basic emphasis reiterated in the martyr book and in the writings of Dirk Philips.

In the Netherlands as in Switzerland, the sixteenth century Anabaptists were subjected to cruel persecutions. The study of the Bible was encouraged and generally considered sufficient, and attitudes toward scholastic and scientific learning were unfriendly. Toleration and secularization of the Mennonites in the Netherlands later "spelled disaster for the entire brotherhood" (Dosker 1921: 268) but in Switzerland the persecutions of the Mennonites continued for three centuries and "were the most bitter and the most disgraceful in all the annals of Europe." (Smith 1909:125.) A separate school system was never established by the Mennonites of the Netherlands. In Switzerland schools were frequently held among groups of families.

Although through the centuries (Aries 1962) there have been published works on the status and treatment of children under Catholicism, under the Protestant Reformers, Puritanism, and under Revivalism, little has appeared in print on children under Anabaptism. In a treatment of *The Nurture and Evangelism of Children* (Yoder, Gideon: 1959) by a contemporary Anabaptist scholar, there is no observation or coverage of Anabaptist practice. Since the practice of infant baptism became a controversial issue during the Protestant Reformation with the Anabaptist taking a radical position against its practice, the charter reflects these influences and some important changes in the status of children during the sixteenth century. The family too, was emerging as a major social institution, and in this respect the charter reflects the important role of parents as agents of socialization rather than the organized church or the community.

The position of the Anabaptists is in marked contrast to a common assumption among Puritans that "As children are not too little to die, they are not too little to go to hell." (Fleming n.d. 68.) Our findings are strikingly different from the views of the revivalist Jonathan Edwards who stated that "out of Christ" children are "young vipers, and are infinitely more hateful than vipers, and are in a most miserable condition." (Fleming n.d. 70.) George Whitefield likened children "to rattlesnakes and alligators," which, he says, "are likewise beautiful when small. If they die in infancy, they can be the subjects of eternal misery. Infants as well as adults need the new birth, and cannot be saved without experiencing it." (Fleming n.d. 70.)

Although the notion of "breaking the will" of the small child is present in the writings of the early Anabaptists, the theme of innocence and purity is far more repetitive and dominant. The importance of breaking the self-will of the child is more pronounced in Hutterian writings (Rideman 1950:130-131) than in the writings of Anabaptists in the Netherlands and in Switzerland. Since baptism was not considered a vehicle of dispensing grace, great importance was attached to learning and to education as a means of membership in the adult believing community.

V. AGE GRADING AND SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS

The discovery, documentation, and description of age categories in a culture requires an intimate knowledge of the details of life derived from participation and observation. From the vast number of details it is necessary to make generalizations, and it is always dangerous to generalize about people. This is especially true as concerns the Amish, for the outsider is easily put off guard by the uniformness of Amish dress and led to believe that there is greater uniformity among the Amish, than in fact exists.

There is considerable individual variation within the Amish community. Not only does one individual differ from another, but one family differs from another. One church district varies from the next in minor rules of proper Christian conduct, and geographical communities may vary considerably from one another. Under the general aegis "Amish" is a continuum of churches ranging from extremely traditional churches that do not allow water under pressure or riding in a private car to the emergent Amish who permit tape recorders, telephones, electricity and car ownership; from those that are completely withdrawn from any social contact with non-Amish, to those that support religious missionaries. Between these extremes there exist all conceivable combinations and gradations.

The Amish are a religious society, and thus socialization cannot be understood divorced from religious concepts that structure their view of human nature, and especially their beliefs about the nature of children as reported in Chapter IV.

The following description of socialization and age grading will deal with those who were born and raised within the Amish culture. The term "Amish community" is used in this disucssion to include members of all church districts that exchange preachers for services. In other words, Amish that are relatively like-minded in regards to *Ordnungen* or rules for living.

THE AGE-STAGES

During his development the Amishman passes through a series of six more or less well-defined age-stages. There are different expectations for each age-stage and different behavior is demanded. Socialization does not stop at adulthood but continues throughout the life of the individual.

The stages may be designated as follows:

1. *Infancy:* birth to walking, "baby"

The first stage is infancy, this covers the period from birth until the child walks. Children of this age are generally referred to as "babies."

2. *Pre-school children:* walking until school age

The second stage covers the period between walking and entrance into school, generally at the age of six or seven. Children of this stage are referred to as "little children." Sometimes they are spoken of as "children at home," although that phrase more often refers to all children who are unmarried and still eat and sleep under the parental roof.

3. *School children:* six or seven up to 14 or 16

Children attending school are referred to as "scholars" by the Amish. These children are fulfilling the eight years of elementary schooling required by the state. They attend either public schools or Amish parochial schools and are between the ages of six and sixteen.

4. *Young people:* 14 or 16 until marriage

Young people or youth are those who have completed eight years of schooling and therefore can do a full day's work. Those who finish elementary school before the age of 16, must, in some places, attend an Amish vocational school. These schools usually meet one half-day per week and the rest of the school hours are spent in apprentice-type, on-the-job training, usually under the direction of a parent. Young people participate in the social life of their peers. There are several important subdivisions in this stage. Even though day school is finished by fourteen most young people are not full participants in this age-stage until they are sixteen. After baptism there is a modification of behavior and the baptized member is no longer a full participant. The draft, which removes Amish young men from the community for two years of alternative service, has not become integrated into the age-pattering of the culture. It can affect either young people or adults.

5. *Adulthood:* marriage until retirement

Baptism, signifies religious adulthood, but marriage and the birth of one's first child brings social adulthood. Generally the time interval between baptism and marriage is relatively short. The major activity during adulthood is child rearing.

6. *Old Folks:* retirement until death

Adults generally retire sometime after their youngest child has married and started to raise a family. They move from the big house into the grandfather house, or to the edge of a village or even to Florida. They are cared for by their children and exert a conservative influence as they fulfill their accepted role of admonishing the young.

ADULTHOOD

A discussion of age-grading in Amish society must begin with adults for the family is the unit of the Amish culture. Ask an Amishman how big his church district is and he will answer you with the number families, not with the number of individuals. An Amish parochial school teacher will tell you how many families attend the school and when she introduces the children she will often introduce them by family rather than by grade. The Amish family is characterized by stability. Theologically the Amish believe that one's commitment to one's spouse is the second greatest commitment made (the first is to God). Husband and wife become one flesh, a single unit separable only by death. There is never a question of "sacrificing one's family for one's profession," of family versus job. One's family comes first, a job is of no intrinsic importance; it is necessary only because it supplies the material or economic basis for the family.

Although the Amish family is patriarchial (the husband is the head of the wife). (The *Blackboard Bulletin* will be abbreviated BB in the following pages, with month, year and page.) Nevertheless she has an immortal soul and therefore she is not merely an extension of her husband nor wholly subservient to him. Her relative position is illustrated by her position in church where she has an equal vote although not an equal voice.

Parents are expected to serve as examples for the child. Children write: "I want to be a farmer, because my father is a farmer." "I'd like to follow my mother's steps." An Amish minister admonishes, "Our lives should, by all means, be separated from the world, and be so consecrated, that our children can see by our words and deeds . . ." (Mast 1955: 439). Parents do not have individual rights; they have responsibilities and obligations for the correct nurture of their children. An Amishman says, "I am a father . . . I must teach, train, admonish, chasten, love, and guide my children, and all this with patience and wisdom." (A father of ten in BB 1/69:123.) An Amish preacher wrote to his sons "the responsibility to teach your children lies fully upon you [parents]." (Jutzi 1852, quoted by Stoll 1967:43; Appendix B, No. 11.) Parents are believed to be accountable to God for their children's spiritual welfare. Menno Simons is quoted (BB 4/68:225): "watch over their [your children's] souls as long as they are under your care, lest you lose also your own salvation on their account." He also directs parents to "zealously watch over all their [children's] doings."

Children function as socializing agents for their parents in a variety of ways. The birth of a child enhances the status of his parents in the community; full adulthood is attained with parenthood. Children take up so much time and energy that there is less likelihood that the parents will have time for other interests. Today the large majority of Amish babies are born in the hospital. Medically this is advantageous, culturally it is not. Home births have a positive value in uniting the family. The wife's unique, dramatic contribution is obvious and her position in the patriarchial family strengthened. The husband and wife grow closer by sharing this experience. Amish women do not see childbirth as threatening, but as status enhancing. The most traditional Amish have continued to oppose hospital deliveries and some of them still quietly give birth at home. As parents strive to be good examples for their children, they modify their own behavior. In their efforts to teach their children to become good Amishmen, they become better Amishmen themselves.

INFANCY

This stage is from birth until walking when the child is called "baby." The Amish believe a baby is a pleasure and may be enjoyed without fear of self-pride, for the baby is a "gift from God" and not primarily an extension of the parents. At this tender age he can do no wrong. If he cries he is in need of comfort, not discipline. It is believed that a baby can be spoiled by wrong handling, especially by nervous, tense handling, but the resultant irritability is not the "fault" of the baby, but rather of the environment; he remains blameless. An Amish baby is born into the community, he is never spoken of as "a little stranger" but is welcomed as a "new woodchopper" or a "little dishwasher." He is greeted happily as contributing to the security of the family and the church.

Amish babies are rarely alone. They sleep in their parents' room, are moved around the house during the day and in a large family are held during most of their waking hours. They are diapered and bathed on their mother's lap, not on a hard, cold table or tub. It is a time of happy socialbility. Babies are rarely fed on a strict time schedule but in relation to their own pattern of hunger and the work pattern of the family. Solid food is given at the family table during family meals. The attitude is one of sharing our good food with the baby. Babies as young as five or six months "don't eat good" if fed along. It is generally believed that everyone of any age eats better in a group. Eating is an important social activity. When visiting, at church, or when parents travel or are ill, friends and members of the extended family help with one another's babies. During the first year of life the baby has received solicitous care from a large number of co-religionists of all ages.

In contrast to the relaxed handling of Amish babies within the home or the community is the care taken of them when mother and baby make an excursion into "the world." The baby is tightly wrapped and covered, often hidden in his mother's shawl. Even his face may be covered in order to protect the baby from the bad air (and eyes?). Passing strangers would probably not realize that the mother was carrying a baby. The traditional Amish dislike having their babies cared for by outsiders or even noticed by them. The way the baby is handled when the mother is shipping or traveling, shows the fear of the outside world and the parents' efforts to protect the baby from its malevolent influence.

In summary, the Old Order Amish give generous attention to their babies' needs, both physical and social. Babies are enjoyed, they are believed to be gentle and responsive, secure within the home and the Amish community, but vulnerable when out in the world. Babies are not scolded or punished and there is no such thing as a "bad" baby though there may be a difficult baby.

PRE-SCHOOLERS

The pre-schooler stage is from walking until entrance into elementary school. During his pre-school years the Amish child learns the patterns of behavior and basic attitudes of his culture. He is taught to respect and obey those in authority, to care for those younger and less able than he, to share with others and to help others, to do what he is taught is right and to avoid that which is wrong, to enjoy work and to fulfill his work responsibilities pleasantly. It is the parents' task to create a safe environment for their children. The parents live "separated from the world," maintaining the boundary and striving always to protect their children from both physical and moral danger. The children are taught to respect authority, and respect is shown by obedience. The Amish do not strive for blind obedience, to stay uselessly on the "burning deck," but for obedience based on love and the belief that those in authority have deep concern for one's welfare and know what is the best for one. Children learn this relationship between authority and responsibility very young. The four year old child is expected to hand over his toy to the three year old, if the three year old cries for it, but in the parents' absence the three year old should do what the four year old tells him to. However, the older child may not make arbitrary demands of the younger and he is expected to cajole rather than force the younger into cooperation. Thus the children learn that authority and responsibility for others are closely linked. Those in authority must be obeyed but they do not simply give orders; they also nurture and protect those who are under their authority. Most traditional Amish parents teach obedience by being firm and consistent, rather than by violent confrontations or single instances of breaking the will. The switch is used freely, but not harshly. There is considerable variation among the Amish in how disobedience is handled, at what age and to what degree obedience is required, the length to which parents will go to get obedience and the emotional attitude of the parents in handling a disobedient pre-schooler. None of the Amish condone willfulness, stubborness, or defiance on the part of the child, but there may be a difference of opinion as to what is stubborness and what is lack of understanding. In dealing with childhood transgression the emergent Amish tend to be more earnest, the traditional Amish more matter of fact.

Work is perceived as helping others and fulfilling one's responsibility (to others). A child is rarely thanked for doing his chores. Thanks are not expected for carrying out one's responsibility. More often the parent may make a simple statement, "Now the floor is clean." One is rewarded by the task having been accomplished. Work well done is its own reward. Children are trained to help one another rather than to be independent. Thus a four year old child will get the boots for the two year old and put them on for him, then instead of putting on his own boots he will wait for his older sister to help him.

Young pre-school children may scream to get attention or to solicit adult protection from teasing by another child or the aggression of an age-mate. This is not acceptable for an older child, who is expected to be able to cope with the situation without summoning adult help. Tears are permitted of anyone in response to deep emotion, but are discouraged as a response to physical pain.

The community as well as the family has an essential role to play in the socialization of the pre-school child. The pre-school children attend church with their parents. They sit through the long service (the girls usually with their mothers, the boys often with their fathers) learning to be considerate of others, quiet and patient. After the service they share in the community meal, perhaps take a nap on a big bed with other Amish babies. The rest of the time they play freely and vigorously about the house and yard, safe in the presence of many Amish who watch and guide them. If a small child suddenly feels lost, someone quickly returns him to a family member. To the pre-schooler the community appears to be composed of many people, all of whom care for him and protect him. He is comfortable and secure within the community.

Pre-school Amish children are kept as far away from the outside world as practical. When shopping with their parents they stay physically very close to them. Little Amish children are not introduced to non-Amish and are not taught about the world outside the community. They may know the exact location of many farms but not the road to the nearest city.

The Amish do not send their children to kindergarten schools. Their 1937 policy states (Beiler 1961:7): "Kindergarten is not sanctioned by the Amish people. Children of this age should be under parents' care. The nurture and admonition that Moses received while under the care of his mother was implanted so deep, that after being taught the wisdom of the Egyptians, chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a season." In recent years some Amish families have sent their children to head start projects, especially those Amish living on the fringes of large settlements.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

The children in this stage, spanning the ages from 6 to 7 to 14 or 15 years, are called "scholars." Throughout the school years the family continues to be the primary locus for socialization of the child. Amish families continue to teach their school age children the same attitudes and values they taught to their pre-schoolers, and to stand in much the same relation to them in respect to the community and the world. The parents' role is protective and supportive as well as didactic. The parent has the responsibility to punish transgressions, but also the power to forgive. Punishment is seen primarily as necessary for the safety of the child: for his physical safety (stay away from that wild horse), for his cultural safety (be respectful to older people), for his legal safety (don't drive without a driver's license), or his moral safety (be obedient). Rewards are used to develop the right attitudes in the child (humility, forgiveness, admission of error, sympathy, responsibility, appreciation of work). Children are motivated primarily by concern for other people and not by fear of punishment. The Amish community, even those who have their own schools, emphasizes that children are the responsibility of their parents; the school and the church are supplemental. (Appendix B, No. 39 Elizabeth Miller, BB 11/66:73; Joseph Stoll, BB 1/61.) The parents should see that their children stay within the *Ordnung*. If they do not the preacher should talk to the parents (not to the children) about their laxness. (Notes from talk by Eli Gingerich, "Why We Should Respect Church Ordinances," Davies County, Indiana, August 1968.) It is the schools' task to cooperate with the parent to preserve the faith taught by the parents. For it is the role of the family, not of the school, or even the church, to make Christians out of their children. (Appendix B, No. 39.)

The parents of school age children are not only teaching their children Christianity, but they are also teaching them the work skills necessary to live an Amish Christianity. By the time the child is eight or nine he is beginning to have fairly demanding tasks to perform.

One often hears a quotation, sometimes attributed to the Jesuits, to the effect "Give me the child until he is seven, and he will always remain Catholic." Formerly the Amish felt secure enough about their children of six or seven, to hand them over to "the world" for their schooling. However, during the last thirty-five years changes in the public schools and in the surrounding rural American culture have created greater problems for the Amish. Modern consolidated schools are not suitable agents of socialization for the Amish child. There have been two possible reactions to the disruptive influence of the public school. Both are currently being tried. The first is to tolerate the public school attempting to isolate its influence, and to counteract the disruption caused by the public school. The second solution is for the Amish to build their own parochial schools. Parochial schooling is a new development for the Amish community. (Appendix B, No. 27.)

The primary function of the parochial school is to create an environment in which Amish children can learn the three R's without having to learn the assumptions of twentieth century America (Henry in Erickson 1969:83-102) where they can learn discipline, true values, and getting along with each other in life. (*Family Life* 1968:5.) Participants in the LaGrange County Amish School Meeting reported that "our goal should be that the church, the home, and the school should teach the same things. Let us not confuse our children, but help them to fill their places in the church and community." ("Gleanings From LaGrange County School Meetings, July 9, 1968," BB 8/68:16). In contrast the public schools train children to function as individuals and to make their own place in the world.

School teaching is a new profession for the Amish and the role of the teacher is still in the process of becoming institutionalized. Perhaps related to the nature of their work, teachers tend to be more individualistic than is typical of the Amish. They may be more theologically oriented and because they read comparatively widely they are likely to be more familiar with the general Protestant and Fundamentalist Christian writing than is typical of an Amishman. Those teachers who are inclined in this direction are frequently the most interested in writing and most convinced that they have something to say. Therefore the articles and comments appearing even in such Amish publications as the *Blackboard Bulletin* tend to show influences from the surrounding Protestant culture to a greater extent than is typical among the teachers as a whole or maong the Amish communities they are serving. Not infrequently an Amish teacher may long to reach religion as a subject. But the traditional Amish realize that attitudes within the family and the experience of going to school together, memorizing hymns, proverbs and Bible verses, sharing experiences and knowledge, is more important to the unity of the church than is studying religion. The teachers are more anxious than the community to use new textbooks. Many of the parents, especially in the most conservative communities, want the old school books used, not necessarily because they are intrinsically better than the new ones, but because parent and child share more when they have learned from the same book.

The emergent Amish teach religion in their parochial schools and many of them use the *Bible Nurture and Reader Series* for the four primary grades. The first sentence some of these children learn to read is "God is love." One Amish teacher from a traditional community said he worried about those books for what if a child was a hard learner and did not like to read, might he not get confused and associate his dislike of reading with God? It is safer to teach the fundamentals of reading using worldly sources. When the skill is mastered it may be used to acquire religious knowledge. The Old Order Amish have recently published readers for grades four through eight. (Stoll, et al.:1968.) They describe them as follows:

> The emphasis is heavy on appreciating our Anabaptist history, and on the Christian virtues of honesty, thrift, purity, and love. There are special sections of nature stories, animal stories, and life on the farm, which should help our children to appreciate our rural way of life. (*Pathway Newsletter*, Autumn, 1967.)

The goal for this series was that each story should have moral value and teach something in addition to reading skill. "Just nice" stories "are not objectionable, but neither do they teach anything in particular," they do not "teach a Christian lesson, or have a good moral." (BB 1/67: 4; 11/67; 5/69.) These readers replace books such as the McGuffy Readers and the Golden Rule Series.

Amish elementary pupils generally have a similar experience within the family and within the community, but their contact with "the world" differs greatly depending on whether they attend a public school or a parochial school. Oversimplifying somewhat we will contrast the two types of schools as socializing agents for the Amish child. A primary difference between the public and the parochial school is its relation to the community. The public school is a part of "the world" and the Amish feel that they have little hope of affecting it. Therefore, there is little interest or participation in the public schools by Amish parents. In contrast the Amish build their parochial schools with not only their own money, but also their own hands. They make all the decisions (within the limits of the state law) about the school calender, the subjects to be taught, the teachers to be hired, the books to be used. Parents, ministers, travelers from other communities are always welcome visitors at the school. Physically and emotionally the parochial school belongs within the Amish community. Having the school within the community brings certain problems. Unless carefully handled the boundary between the world and the church may become blurred when the school moves from the domain of the world into the domain of the church. This is especially true if the community is not of one mind. Church conflicts can effect the school adversely. Also the role of the teacher and the school board members is still in the process of becoming institutionalized and consequently misunderstandings sometimes arise. (Chapter VI.) Regional and national teachers meetings are helping to define the teacher's role both within the school and within the larger Amish community. Some Amish are concerned that the children learn too little about the world when they attend Amish parochial schools. These individuals realize that the world must be fairly well understood if one is to reject it selectively and in such a way that financial survival is possible within the twentieth century. English must be mastered and the ways of worldly people understood to the degree that is necessary to have business transactions with them. For some communities supporting a parochial school is an economic strain.

Both the public and parochial schools teach the three R's but their methods are quite different, and the attitude towards the ultimate use of the knowledge is very different. The public schools use a greater variety of material and stress speed sometimes at the expense of accuracy. In contrast the parochial schools tend to use a more limited amount of material but the children learn it thoroughly. Accuracy is stressed rather than speed, drill rather than variety, proper sequence rather than freedom of choice. The public school tends to teach subject matter as a tool the child needs to realize his highest individual potential and gain greatest freedom of movement. In contrast the parochial schools teach the same material in order to help the child become a part of his community, and to remain within his community. Emphasis is on shared knowledge rather than new knowledge, on tradition rather than progress.

Within the public school children are separated from their siblings and placed in narrow age groups. Individual achievement is emphasized. In Amish parochial schools brothers and sisters are in the same room, age grading is not so rigid and group excellence or sometimes group competition is used as a stimulus. A whole school will strive to have a perfect score in spelling; a chart will be kept of each class' average in the arithmetic test scores. Sometimes two schools will vie for a good attendance record. (For further discussion of teaching methods see Chapter VI.) Public schools tend to teach that weakness is bad and should be overcome by the individual; parochial schools assume that all individuals are weak and need help from one another and from a higher power as well as individual effort in order to improve. (Yoder 1952:567.) Within the public school the child is regarded as a citizen and an intellect; within the parochial school as a future Amishman and soul. (See for example, "I Long to Teach Them Wisdom." BB, 1968:98.) In the public schools a teacher's academic training, knowledge of his subject and teaching techniques are the criteria for hiring. In the parochial schools example in daily life and wisdom are more important than training and factual knowledge. Amish teachers have no tenure, for obviously if someone turns out to be a poor teacher he is not fulfilling the role God intended from him and it is better for everyone that he do some other, more suitable, kind of work. Public elementary school is conceived as preparing the child for high school, not as being sufficient in itself. The parochial school assumes that the child will go on learning for the rest of his life, but that his formal schooling will end with eighth grade. The greatest dangers of public school for the Amish child are not the differences in attitudes between his parents and his teacher, the specific subject matter taught in the public school, not the "frills" such as visual aids and physical education, but the fact that the Amish child may form close personal friendships with non-Amish children, and that he may become too comfortable in the ways of the world. ("I Long to Teach Them Wisdom," BB 12/68:98.)

The threat of absorption is akin to that perceived by other groups, and so aptly described by a Jewish novelist (Gary 1968:209): "Something is happening. For the last few minutes, I have been sensing a sinister threat, though its exact nature eludes me. All I know is that I'm beginning to feel at home here, surrounded by friends, and that I see nothing but compassion, tolerance and good will everywhere . . . The danger is terrible . . . It is no longer a question of suppressing me physically, but morally and spiritually, by "fraternizing" me, and thus forcing me to shoulder the collective responsibility of the species, which would have, among many other grisly consequences, that of making me responsible for our own extermination."

YOUNG PEOPLE

The "young people" constitutes an age category from 14 or 16 until marriage. School is prerequisite for membership in a managerial middle class. Compulsory schooling appeared on the scene with the growth of the industrial state. The all-pervasive United States school establishment is tied to industry, government, and the military to paraphrase Ivan Illich (1968). The Amish reject membership in a managerial middle class, they reject urbanization, industrialization and participation in the armed services. And they reject the training that prepares them for unacceptable occupations. Instead they withdraw their children at the end of elementary school and train them within the home and the community to become skilled in and to enjoy the work they will actually be doing as adults. The Amish have consistently maintained that further formal education is, not only not necessary, but is actually detrimental to the successful performance of Amish adult work roles. Recent sociological studies seem to bear out these assumptions. Ivar Berg (1969:50) suggests that the over-educated are less productive whether they are factory workers or elementary school teachers and that in many kinds of work on-the-job training is of more significance than educational credentials. He states: ". . . The use of formal education is a sovereign screening device for jobs adequately performed by people of lower educational achievements may result in serious costs —high turnover, employee dissatisfactions, and poorer performance." ("The Peter Principle" described by Lawrence J. Peter, 1969, as "in a hierarchy every employee tends to rise to his level of incompetence" is a further development of this theme.) Certainly the skills the Amish need are best learned by doing; the enjoyment of physical labor can be learned better by laboring than by studying in a classroom.

In order for an individual to become Amish he must be kept within the Amish community, physically and emotionally, during his crucial adolescent years. Excursions will be made out into the world, but, it is hoped, not until late in adolescence should these excursions last for long. Never should they remove the young person to a great physical distance from an Amish community. Amish young people may work for "English people," learning about the world, but they must return home every weekend. Young people may work as clerks or in small factories, but they return home in the evening and do not join labor unions. Even this amount of contact with the world worries parents and if it appears that the young person is not ready for this degree of contact his parents will make him quit his worldly work.

The Amish individual progresses toward adulthood in an orderly, clearly defined manner, through a series of accepted stages. Two governmental institutions threaten this order by prolonging childhood in one case and adolescence in the other. Forcing an Amish person to attend school daily places him in the "child" category, for the hours spent in school prevent him from doing a full day's work and this is the criterion for youth. The alternative service program removes the young man from the community and from an opportunity to accept an adult role, therefore extending his adolescence. When the individual is prevented by the state from achieving a status position within his culture believed to be his due, both the individual and the culture suffers.

High school removes the Amish child from the community by changing his status, by removing him physically for many of his waking hours, by teaching him skills and attitudes that are disruptive to his way of life, and by enabling him to form personal friendships with non-Amish young people. The school is disruptive both in what it teaches the Amish child and what it prevents the child from learning. If he is in school he cannot learn the whole pattern of farming, he cannot attend sales and learn how to buy and sell in the worldly market, he cannot attend work bees or weddings or church services for visiting preachers and learn adult roles of social integration. The conflict and anguish often experienced by Amish children who attend high school is heartrending. It often lasts well into adulthood.

During adolescence the peer group is of supreme importance, for most of the Amish young person's socialization takes place within this group rather than within the church or the family. If the young person's peer group remains Amish, he has a reference point, a balance, and a support. Even though he, as an individual or as a member of this Amish peer group, transgresses many rules and crosses most of the boundaries between the Amish community and the world, he will eventually return to the church and become a life-long Amishman. However, if during this state he makes English friends and identifies with an English peer group, even though he is well behaved (does not drink, smoke, neck, or go to the movies) he will probably leave the Amish church never to return. It is better to tolerate wild barn parties within the community, than prayer meetings outside it.

Throughout their history the Amish have been non-resistant, refusing to serve in any army. Today Amish young men must spend two years performing alternative (I-W) service. A memo from the office of General Hershey instructs local draft boards that suitable I-W employment should "constitute a disruption" in the life of a conscientious objector. (Local Board Memorandum No. 64, September, 1968.) This is in addition to the requirements, 1) that the work must contribute to the national health, safety or interest, 2) the work should be performed outside the community in which the person resides and 3) the job should be one that cannot be readily filled from the competitive job market. (*The Reporter*, February 1969:3.) General Hershey need not have worried that I-W service might not cause sufficient disruption in the life of the young Amishman. The selective service program is more disruptive to the Amish community than is apparent by the number of individuals actually in service. Those who are drafted must live outside the Amish community, often alone and in a city, perhaps wearing Non-Amish clothing while at work. These measures separate the young men from community control and to a limited extent make them not Amish. Baptism has always been an important *rite de passage* among the Amish for it not only signifies total commitment to the believing church-community, physically and spiritually separated from the world, but also admission to adulthood. If the young man is baptized before his I-W service he cannot live physically separated from the world as he is pledged to do. If he is not baptized before his service, he has not commited himself to the church community and is more vulnerable to outside influences. Not only does I-W service make unclear and less meaningful the rite of baptism, but it also effects marriage. Is it best for a young man to marry before, during or after his service? If he goes into the world without a wife he may form friendships with non-Amish girls and as marriage must be "in-the-Lord" that is with a co-religionist, this is seen as dangerous. If he has a wife, she helps protect him from worldly influences, but they start their married life with modern conveniences of electricity and telephones that are hard to give up when they return to an Amish way of life. And what about children who are born outside the community? During I-W service both the Amish men and their wives learn to do different work and may receive training they will never use on an Amish farm. They work exclusively with non-Amish. (For "Twenty Rules for the I-W" Boys, see *Ambassador of Peace* March 1969:44-45.) Probably the most disruptive influence is learning to know good, kind, highly verbal religious people who are not Amish and who challenge the specific rules of the Amish church. The young men in I-W service often receive higher wages than they would within the Amish community and there is sometimes a temptation to stay on and work longer than the required two years. Many young men and even couples find the adjustment back to the watchfull community difficult after the autonomy and anonymity of city living.

The most traditional Amish refuse I-W service. As one member said, "God did not mean for the Amish to take the way of I-W service, He is not blessing or prospering us for accepting I-W service. It is better for the Amish to go to prison, though it is hard. God is with them there." In contrast to the men who accept alternative service, those few who go to prison generally return to the Amish community stronger in their faith, and more secure in their conviction that they will remain Amish forever. They do not go through a period of being unsettled when they return. The rite of baptism retains its significance and is perhaps enhanced, for the time these Amishmen spend outside the community serves to clarify the boundary between the world and the church; it enables them to identify with the martyrs of their heritage and it reinforces their belief in the necessity of separation from an evil world.

The Amishman is socialized within his family, within the Amish community and, uneasily, with the world. "The world" is everything that is culturally non-Amish. It is seen as threatening by the Amish and is becoming more threatening as the gulf between the traditional Amish and the American middle class widens. Government increasingly impinges on the Amish way of life, affecting not only taxation but land use, military service, social security benefits and health insurance. As the public schools become more centralized and therefore further removed from community control, they become less suitable for the Amish child. The homogenized Americanism taught there runs counter to traditional Amish beliefs. Amish young men are ill prepared to live outside the community during their two years of required alternative service. This forces them into a position where they must form meaningful personal relationships with people outside the Amish community: they become too aware of "the world" and concerned about their image in the world. Perhaps even more dangerous than the secular culture of today is the influence of surrounding Protestantism and the inroads of Fundamentalism that threaten the community cohesiveness of the Amish.

THE OLD FOLKS

The Amish people age and die in a framework of realism. Socialization patterns provide guidelines for meeting the major problems of aging: the inactivity of retirement, economic insecurity, prestige loss, social isolation, loss of health, and death. The Amish accept aging in a manner that is associated with a broad range of attitudes; the care of the aged is not dependent upon a single institution.

The age of retirement for either men or women in Amish society is not rigidly defined by the culture. Retirement age varies widely among household heads. Retirement is gradual rather than abrupt. If the children are married and in need of farms, the father may decide to retire as early as 50. Where pressure for farms is not a factor, the head of the family may in rare cases decide not to retire until the age of 70. Retirement from the viewpoint of the culture is voluntary. There is no organization that forces retirement. Even after retirement there is no marked change in work and activity, for grandparents usually assist their married children with work on a voluntary basis in times of specific need. Health is a factor in determining the onset of retirement. Work expectations can be reduced without fear of losing prestige, and men are not forced to choose between full time jobs or doing nothing at all. Obligations such as visiting the sick, the bereaved, and attending funerals increase with age.

Economic security in the form of living standards does not decline sharply. Moving into the grandfather house is the normal way of retiring. The old folks move into the adjacent farm dwelling and live from their life savings which are supplemented by a share in the farm and modest income from carpentry or other part-time work as long as health permits. Separate living arrangements and independence of travel are important personal liberties that are respected by the Amish system of retirement. Grandfather has his own horse and buggy. The Amish do not apply for old age and survivors insurance benefits. They are eligible for exemption from paying the self employment social security tax. The economic aspects of retirement are not the major considerations, but what is considered important is a mode of life that permits successive generations to remain associated in life pursuits.

Prestige is maintained on a level consistent with prior accomplishments in life. There is no noticeable evidence of anxiety due to loss of status. On the contrary, power and prestige tend to increase with age. Both men and women have a formal vote in the church-business sessions. The association of age with prestige in a generally patriarchal society tends to strengthen the ties with the past. "Old fashioned ways" still have respect and a knowledge of these ways is perpetuated by the older people. Young farmers ask their fathers for advice on a variety of farm management problems. Mothers ask grandmothers for advice on how to rear their children, even though they do not always follow their instructions. (Appendix B, No. 18.) The interaction patterns between the age-groups lessens the strain between the generations.

In social life there appears to be a balance between privacy and social involvement. Isolation from others is made possible for the individual or the elderly couple, but participation in the church and community activity is not denied. Retirement from church office, such as bishop, deacon, or preacher, is not possible since ordination is a lifetime calling. Assurance against loneliness is grounded in the cultural inducements to child bearing and sanctioning large families. Togetherness is fostered in religious life, kinship and visiting patterns, and agricultural pursuits of a simple style which permit children and parents to work and live in proximity to each other. The psychological aspects of aging are acknowledged and provided for by the community and the family. The slow rate of change and strong community ties assure older people of ample opportunities for meaningful social participation to the limit of their energy and mental capacities.

The Old Order Amish people do not build separate institutions or homes for the aged. The aged are therefore not physically removed from their children and grandchildren. The transitional Amish groups often support community homes for the aged and place their members in these institutions. As a consequence, their homes and their communities are less supportative of the social life of the aged than are the traditional Amish. Greater discontinuity exists between the grandparents and children. The firm teaching among the traditional Amish that children should obey their parents places a moral obligation of reciprocity on the young married to provide for their aging parents. ("Who'll Take Grandma?", *Family Life*, June 1968:18.)

Loss of health accompanies aging among the Amish as in all societies. The manner in which the culture influences the psycho-social adjustment to aging and illness is important. Ailments are accepted realistically and local physicians are patronized at will. Non-scientific aspects of medical beliefs have been observed in Amish society (Egeland 1967), but what is most marked is an overall concern for the sick in the community. *Family Life* occasionally carries articles on health (see especially August, 1969). Persons who are too ill to attend religious services are talked about at great length. They are normally visited by relatives and friends in the afternoon or during the week. Small gifts of food or other specialties are often given to them. The senile and mentally ill are cared for in the household except for serious (dangerous) cases. The family and community provides supportive aids, a sense of belonging and the expectation of being needed. Older people are more free to travel, and consequently often do more visiting than other adults.

When death occurs, few decisions need to be made by the family that are not made by custom. Neighbors and non-relatives relieve the family of all work responsibility. Young men are appointed to take over the farm chores and an older married couple takes over the responsibility of managing the household until after the funeral. These appoint-ments are considered a great honor. The managing couple will solicit as many helpers as are needed for cleaning, food preparation, and for making burial arrangements. The relatives spend their time in quiet meditation and in conversation around the bier where guests come to see their departed friend and talk to the family. Close friends come to the home to sit up all night while the relatives rest. The Amish observe the wake by sitting all night around the deceased, and young people gather to sing hymns on at least one of the evenings before the funeral. Amish coffins are made by a carpenter or by an undertaker that caters to the customs of the Amish. Pallbearers are selected by the family. Their duty is to dig the grave, assist with the physical arrangements at the funeral, open and close the coffin for viewing, arrange for transportation, and close the grave at the cemetery. Funerals, especially of elderly people, are attended by large numbers of friends and relatives from various states. It is not unusual to have over 500 mourners present. It is the custom to return to the house of the deceased for a meal after the burial; this serves to restore normal role relationships and responsibilities. The quietness and seriousness which has prevailed for three days is now broken by normal conversation and interaction patterns. Family members are readily integrated into the ongoing concerns of the community where bereavement is healed by Godly and ethnic ties. The belief in eternal life beyond death is a source of comfort to the mourning family. Death shakes the emotional foundations of the individual, but the major burdens are borne by the church-community.

VI. AMISH SCHOOLING IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTEXT

CULTURAL GOALS AND SOCIALIZATION

School is a crucial experience in the socialization of American children—Amish as well as suburban. The public school system has developed in such a way that it is fairly well suited for its task of preparing middle class children to live in twentieth century urban United States. However, the teachings of the modern elementary school are increasingly irrelevant for individuals who live in small rural enclaves and especially for those who conscientiously reject much of modern technology and most new cultural developments. Just as the goal of our public schools is to produce individuals with "the best chance of understanding and contributing to the great events of his time" (Education Policies Commission; 1962:11) so the goal of Amish parochial schools is to produce Amish Christians able to understand and contribute to the small events that will help perpetuate their community here and in eternity. To express this in their own words "The goal of the [Amish parochial] school shall be to prepare the child for the Amish way of living and the responsibilities of adulthood. In short, these [school] standards are designed in an effort to establish the foundations of a society of useful, God-fearing, and law-abiding citizens." (Appendix B, No. 24.) Although the Amish goals are not identical with those of the larger society they are not antithetical for both systems strive to produce useful, law-abiding citizens. In fact, if we assess the public and the parochial schools according to the criteria established by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools ("Policies and Criteria," 1968:2): "a school shall be judged, insofar as is possible, in terms of its stated philosophy." It would appear that the Amish parochial school is doing a superior job in actually realizing its goal, for their graduates do in fact become useful, God-fearing, law-abiding citizens and members of the Amish church.

Parochial schools are a relatively recent development among the Amish. The first such school was built in 1925, after the Amish had been in America almost two centuries. The next was not built until 1938. By 1940 there were only four Amish parochial schools. As public school districts became consolidated and the local community lost much of its influence in the schools, there was growing concern among Amish parents. Loomis (1951:490-491) lists six arguments in favor of consolidation. None of them are acceptable to the Amish. 1) "Equalization of cost between the poorer and the wealthier districts." The Amish do not care if their district is financially poor. 2) "Better teachers." The Amish do not believe that higher education necessarily produces better teachers, nor that higher salaries insure greater competence. 3) "Superior curicula." The Amish consider the curriculum of the larger schools inferior for it usually stresses science and lauds technology. 4) "Specialization of instruction and grading of pupils by age groups." The Amish are opposed to specialized instruction, preferring that their children learn only the basic skills of reading and writing and arithmetic. They consider it a disadvantage to group children with only their age mates and not have them in a mixed group learning from the older and helping with the younger children. 5) "Social advantages to pupils and to the community." This is considered a danger rather than an advantage for the Amish wish their children to follow in their own footsteps and not to "advance" to other occupations or higher status jobs. (Havighurst and Neugarten 1960:222-225.) 6) "Better administration and superior vision." The Amish are suspicious of administration for they believe that all agreements should be informal and based on the word of the parties. There is no need for administration in small face-to-face groups. The Amish also believe the vision of the administrative officials to be inferior rather than superior for it is usually progress oriented and based on an exclusive belief in the scientific method. The Amish see these as arguments against consolidation rather than for it and their concern increases about the environment the large regional schools create for their children. Over and over one hears Amishmen give as a major reason for building their own schools the need to control the environment of their children. (Ervin N. Hershberger, BB 4/58; John E. Kauffman, BB 1/59; Joseph Stoll, BB 10/68.) (The *Blackboard Bulletin* is here and hereafter cited as BB, usually with author, month, year, and page numbers where applicable.) A basic goal is "to give their children the education they need (minus the dangerous influences the children might have been exposed to in public schools)." (Uria R. Byler, BB 8/68:8.) Thus, as the one-room rural public schools were closed the Amish opened schools of their own. By 1950 they had 16 schools, and by 1960 they operated 85 parochial schools. Since then there has been a sharp increase in new schools. By 1968 there were about 250 Amish schools, taught by some 300 teachers and with an estimated enrollment of 7,800 pupils. (From the BB, November 1968. Actually, this is an incomplete enumeration for many schools are not reported. See also Table 1.)

It is still early to assess the effect of these schools on the life-style of the Amish. However, in the schools' dual role of "protecting" and "teaching" (Joseph Stoll 1967:64) the children within their sphere, they undoubtedly contribute to maintaining an Amish life-style distinct from the changing culture around them.

During the last thirty-five years the American public schools have become increasingly significant in their role as socializing agent. The number of days in the school year and the number of years spent in school has steadily increased. Many of the functions formerly performed by the family and the church are being taken over by the school. Rapid urbanization and the mobility associated with an increasingly technological society lead to changes in traditions, in the roles of family members and in the influence of the church. This created a vacuum that the public school attempted, sometimes reluctantly, sometimes enthusiastically, to fill. For some children the school is the major socializing agent, at least in the realm of vocational training and often it is within the school or in association with their schoolmates that children learn conventional behavior and develop many of their values. For those seeking to participate in the mainstream of American culture, the public school often provides excellent preparation. For those few who do not participate in national government, and who think of themselves as "strangers in the land," the expanding role of the public school is threatening. The Amish parochial schools are granted only a tertiary role in the socialization of their children. The child belongs first to the family, who has the main responsibility for his development; then to the church and finally to the school. (Elizabeth Miller, BB 11/66:73.) In a letter "To Our Public School Officials" (Eli Gingerich, BB 8/66:19-20) the writer explained "although we appreciate having our own schools and teachers of our choice, we feel this still does not quite come up to having our children together as a family unit under the influence of the parents." Or an another Amishman writes "the school's influence must take a back seat to the influence generated by the home and by the church. (Joseph Stoll, BB 1/61.)

Literacy is essential for the Amish way of living: "Skills in reading, writing, and working with numbers are of great value in the Christian's life. With them he is able to support himself and his family honorably, to communicate with relatives and friends, and to make a contribution to his church and the community; they are an aid to spiritual growth, by opening the door to the truths of the Bible and other books." (Editorial, BB 9/62.) In their schools the Amish emphasize the teaching of the basic subjects traditionally referred to as the three R's. Their success in teaching these subjects as measured by standaridized achievement tests is covered in Chapter VII.

Although the Amish want their children to learn the basic skills as well or better in their own schools than they do in the public schools, the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic is not the primary reason for establishing their own schools. Nor is the primary reason the teaching of religion. In fact, religion as a special subject is not taught in Amish parochial schools. They have no theological disucssion, no catachism, and even in those schools where the Bible is read there is no explanation or interpretation of the Word, for it is generally felt that to do this is "not in the teacher's place" (Elton S. Miller, BB 9/69:120-121). It is the primary duty of the teacher to be an example for the pupils, teaching them to live together in disciplined harmony, abiding by the beliefs of their church: "Teaching the Golden Rule, honesty, thriftness, cleanliness and teaching them to be willing to work with mind and hands." (Catherine Swarey, BB 10/66:57.) "The pupils must learn obedience, kindness, and respect in addition to the 3 R's." A member of the Indiana Amish School Committee wrote, "One of the greatest advantages of our own school system is to have our own qualified Christian teachers. Our children will be learning Christian morals in between lines while getting their secular education." (John M. Bontrager, BB 8/63.)

The Amish church and the Surpeme Court have both directed that the schools under their jurisdiction shall not teach religion. The Amish make it clear that morality must be taught even though theology is not. The public schools are wrestling with the problem of how to teach morality without religion; all too often what emerges as acceptable to the constituency is cultural chauvinism which is used as a bolstering belief system.

The Amish assume that Christianity underlies all morality so that the ban on teaching religion does not mean that the schools are not Christian, rather than the finer points of doctrine and interpretation are not to be studied. The Amish leaders want each parochial school "to have the highest standards of truth and morality, and . . . high standards in education and behavior . . . [Each must] be a clean school, a busy school, a Christian school." (Joseph Stoll 1965:76.)

The Amish parochial schools strive to develop character. "Character is the ability to work hard, to get along with others, to be respectful, to humbly strive after life's worthwhile values, to love one's fellow man and thereby love God." (David Luthy, BB 5/69:222.) Love of one's fellow man is taught; love of God is believed to follow naturally.

The consistency between the type of character the Amish strive for and the type of personality they displayed on the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Tables 20-22) is striking. The category having the highest frequency of responses has the following personality description:

"Quiet, friendly, responsible and conscientious, works devotedly to meet his obligations and serve his friends and school. Thorough and painstaking, accurate with figures, but needs time to master technical subjects, as reasoning is not his strong point. Loyal, considerate, concerned with how other people feel even when they are in the wrong." (Myers 1962:70.)

RELATION TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The Amish established their parochial school system in direct response to changes in policy of the public schools.

The Amish culture is built on informal ties of personal responsibility and understanding. It requires a small group with face to face contacts in order to remain viable. When the group becomes too large to be held together by bonds of personal friendship, differences of opinion develop, there are misunderstandings and generally a division takes place. The primary unit remains small and on a human rather than an organizational scale. As long as the public school maintained this same scale the Amish were satisfied and many were active participants in the schools. For instance, an Amish member of the township public school board in 1895 supervised the building of the public school on a corner of his farm. (Sixty years later when the township sold the school house, made obsolete by consolidation, the Amish community bought the building for $3,240.00 and established their own school.) (Esh, BB 1962:n.p.) The Amish have suffered repeatedly at the hands of school officials who do not understand their concern for education and the distinction they make between technology and wisdom, between the critical analytical method and the quest for ultimate coherence. (Littell, in Erickson 1969:61-82.) In county after county the Amish have had to suffer fines and jail sentences and even the removal of their children to institutions before they have been able to legally establish their own schools. In Pennsylvania the harassment went on for eighteen years, in Ohio for almost ten. In Iowa Amish children were chased into cornfields in an attempt to round them up physically and transport them by bus to public school; their parents were jailed and property confiscated for nonpayment of fines. (Harold E. Hughes, in Erickson 1969:5-14; Donald A. Erickson, 1966:85-89; 1968a: 36-44; 1969:14-59.)

Today the Iowa Amish are granted a tenuous permission revokable virtually at the whim of the state superintendent, to maintain their own schools. It is national public opinion, not school officials or the state legislature that is enabling the Iowa Amish to keep their own school in operation. (Act Relating to Compulsory School Attendance and Educational Standards. [Iowa] Senate File 785, 1967.) In Kansas (1965-1967) conscientious Amish families were harassed out of the state. (Erickson, "The Persecution of Leroy Garber," in Hostetler 1969.) However, in Kentucky (1967) a jury trial found the Amish not guilty of the same offense (breaking the school attendance laws) because "they acted on the basis of religious conscience." (Titus, BB 12/67:117.) An amicable, detailed agreement was finally worked out between the Indiana Amish and the school officials. (Appendix B, No. 25; BB 1968:131-32, 159-161.) Michigan passed a bill in May 1967 that would "allow the State Board of Education to set a definition for 'qualified personnel' as well as 'certified' teachers, a distinction which might let the board satisfy the Amish families [by allowing them to hire an Amish teacher] and also meet state laws." (*Ann Arbor News*, May 10, 1967. For the background to this case see BB 8/64;5.) A court case is still pending in Wisconsin. There has been no real trouble in South Carolina, New York, Illinois and Delaware. Maryland has been understanding of the Amish stand on education. Yoder School (Figure 49) has for many years been a model of fine cooperation between the Amish community and the board of education. (Hostetler 1958.) In another instance the county furnished the material for a rural public school and the parents supplied the labor. The state also supplies the three teachers and school bus transportation for the children. The parents raise money to buy equipment not furnished by the school board. (Mrs. Atlee E. Hershberger, BB 11/68:92.) In 1967 Maryland passed a bill stating that the Amish were a "bona fide church organization" and therefore not subject to license by the state. (Senate of Maryland, No. 460; Andrew Hertzler, BB 3/68:188-189.) There are three public schools in Delaware that are controlled by the Amish but staffed by the Department of education.

In Missouri, the school officials have also been cooperative, to quote an Amish letter:

"In our area Anabel, Missouri we have had the nice cooperation of our local schoolboard and the superintendent of the newly consolidated school district. They have sold us two good school houses and most of the cont, just what we needed to get started.

"When our board members met with them, they stated that they wanted to do as nearly as they could what was right, and had decided whatever the Amish wanted for schools would be the nearest right thing to do. For they did not believe it was necessary to have so much trouble about schools as had occurred in some places.

"So why should we not thank God daily for such blessings?" (David S. Borntrager, BB 9/67:64-65.) This is in strong contrast to the treatment they received in Wayne County, Ohio, when the school board refused to sell the Amish an obsolete school house, even when there were no other buyers.

It is obvious that the Amish will not tolerate the removal of their children to a distance from their homes, the placing of them into large groups with narrow age limits, the teaching of skills useless to their way of life, and exposing them to values and attitudes antithetical to their own. These conditions develop when schools become large and bureaucratic. Then the Amish withdraw, for "it is better to sacrifice than to compromise." (John F. Beiler, BB 1966:33.) They set up their own schools and when that is not possible they move to other states or even other countries where they can raise their children to thrive on cooperation and humility rather than competition and pride of achievement.

Types of Amish Schools

The Amish administer two different levels of schools: the elementary school consisting of the first eight grades and the vocational school attended by children who have successfully completed the eighth grade but are not yet old enough to obtain a working permit. The program is basically an on-the-job training program, a type of apprentice program that is being experimented with in some of the city public schools. ("Model Vocational Plan Revamps

All Education," *Education U.S.A.*, Dec. 18, 67:93.) The Amish children are released to a responsible Amish adult, usually their parents, to work under them while learning the arts of farming and housekeeping. Then, one day a week they meet as a group with their school teacher.

The Amish administer schools only when it is necessary in order to maintain the small rural school. Thus in areas where the younger children continue to attend rural schools the Amish teach only the seventh and eighth grades in their school. (Abe S. Kinsinger, BB 12/66:109.) Where elementary children remain in rural schools but high school attendance at a large consolidated school was enformed the Amish built schools for the ninth and tenth grades or for children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. (Lydia Mae Bontrager, BB 1966:110.) A few of the elementary schools teach nine grades and some have the vocational school attend class each week in the elementary school building.

Areas of Adjustment: Government and Amish Schooling

There is a surprising lack of uniformity among the various states in relation to their laws pertaining to the public control of private schools. (Elson, in Erickson 1969:103-134.) For example, in New England there is no regulation of private elementary and secondary education other than that the building must be declared safe by the State Fire Marshall and it must have adequate toilets, sanitary drainage and a safe water supply. (Sanders, in Erickson 1969:178.) In contrast, many middle western states have detailed regulations on compulsory attendance, certification of teachers, the curricula to be taught and in some instances, not to be taught.

Treating the Amish parochial schools as a unit, there are seven areas of adjustment that are required of them in one or more localities. These areas are: 1) health and safety standards, 2) length of the school year, 3) length of the school day, 4) attendance requirements for enrolled pupils, 5) age of compulsory attendance, 6) certification of teachers and, 7) curricula requirements.

First, all states have certain building requirements pertaining to the health and safety of the children. The Amish cooperate cheerfully with these except when they go against specific religious prohibitions. Certain church districts forbid indoor plumbing. These schools have outhouses similar in type to those built by the state at roadside and state parks. Electricity is everywhere forbidden in the homes and is not installed in the schools. (John E.

Otto, BB 12/66:108.) Otherwise, all the safety measures are carefully followed. (See the section on Physical Description of the Schools.)

Second, the minimum length of the school year for parochial schools is determined by the state. For example, Ohio requires 160 days, Indiana 167, Pennsylvania 180; some states require that parochial schools have the same length of year as neighboring public schools. The Amish believe in a short year, with most of the hours spent during the winter when farm chores are not pressing. They prefer to begin school late in August and to eliminate vacations so they can close in April. Most schools have only two days off for Christmas, one day off for Thanksgiving and Good Friday. A few may close on Easter Monday. Snow rarely closes an Amish school for most of the pupils walk or come by horse and buggy or sleigh. Schools may be closed as required for community participation. Thus, the school may close when there is a funeral, for sometimes two-thirds of the children will be direct descendants of an old patriach and the rest will probably be related to him by marriage. More rarely the school may close for a wedding if the families of most of the school children are involved. If weather conditions cause corn husking to get behind schedule the school may close for two or three days so that the children can help with the harvest. These days are always made up, occasionally on Saturdays.

Their reasons for preferring a short school year are best described in their own words:

"First: although we appreciate having our own schools and teachers of our choice, we feel this still does not quite come up to having our children together as a family unit under the influence of the parents. Having one more month of school would mean less family influence.

"Second: Although we are a rural people in general, we realize there is a greater and greater need for a sound basic education. However, the old adage, 'We learn to do by doing.' still holds true. Learning from books becomes more meaningful as we tie it in with practical experience. During that last month of school our children would miss much of the basic principles of farming, that of preparing for and planting fields and gardens.

"Third: We feel that our actual hours of classroom study in eight months would compare favorably with the average public school term of nine months. That is, count-ing such things as recreation during school sessions, basketball games, spring vacation, etc. . . .

"Fourth: The nine-month school term is mainly intended for town and city children. We feel the extra month of school for us is not only unnecessary, but creates a burden and hardship to our way of life, in a spiritual as well as a material sense. We support our own schools, and at the same time support the public schools. This means higher taxes for us, and we are deprived of the help of our children at a time of year when we most need them.

"Fifth: We feel that farming with tractors is not only impractical financially on most of our small farms, but with tractor farming we also tend to become more independent of each other, and lose much of the community spirit so essential for love and Christian fellowship in everyday life, as well as in the church.

"Neither we nor our school system is perfect, but it is our aim to raise and educate our children to be not only good Christian stewards, faithful to God and our church, but also to be useful citizens in our community. For this privilege we are willing to continue supporting the public schools through our taxes, and to assume the financial responsibility ourselves of educating our children."
(Compiled by Eli Gingerich,
BB, 8/66)

The vocational and elementary school observe the same length school year.

Third, the length of the school day is determined in cooperation with the school officials. There is no problem about this. The Amish children generally attend school five to six hours a day not including the lunch period. The vocational school children work on their academic studies or home projects five to six hours per day during school hours and attend classes with a vocational teacher one-half to one full day per week.

Fourth, regular attendance is required by the state of all school children. The Amish are now cooperative about the attendance requirement for elementary school. Most schools maintain an average attendance of well over 90%; Illinois has agreed to maintain an average attendance of 97% and to make-up all the days when such an average is not maintained. The school is closed rather than tolerate a series of absences so that the children can help when there is pressing community work, such as corn husking. Then the missed days are made up. In such a closely-knit community it is impossible for a family to keep a child home to work without everyone knowing the real reason. In one community this happened. The teacher spoke to the parents, but after awhile the child began missing again, so the school board spoke to them. They were warned that the child would be transferred to the public school if there was not full cooperation. The parents once again kept the boy out of school, so he was transferred. Whereupon the family got a retired doctor to sign a medical excuse and they presented it to the public school, saying he was not healthy enough to attend. He continued to work both at home and for other families. The parents did not try to submit a doctor's excuse to the parochial school for the community members would have known it was not valid. Needless to say this is an unusual case, but illustrates that the parochial schools are better able to police their children than the public schools. In most instance, even families that might be tempted to keep an older child at home to help with the work, do so very infrequently because they are sensitive to community pressure. Required school attendance is no longer a problem at Amish elementary schools.

Fifth, the state determines the compulsory school age. This has been the basis of much of the trouble between the Amish and the civil government. It was the major area of conflict in Pennsylvania and Ohio, a cause for concern in Indiana, Illinois, and Oklahoma and resulted in litigation in Kansas, Kentucky and Wisconsin. It is a point on which the Amish will not give; they will suffer fines, jail sentences and will migrate before they will capitulate. The Amish know that adolescence is a crucial age in the socialization of their children; therefore, they will not allow them to be socialized by "the world" during this formative period. They must shelter their children, not so much from ideas, as from learning the roles and rules of the English culture. The Amish understand intuitively what Lynd and Lynd pointed out so well in *Middletown* (1929:211-224. See also Jules Henry 1963:182-282) that the non-academic life of the high school admirably prepares the students for social participation in the American culture. Therefore, the Amish consider the high school to be a dangerous environment that is "a detriment to both farm and religious life." (*Budget*, July 15, 1954:6.) Not only do the children learn things they should not learn when they attend high school, but they are also prevented from learning things they must know in order to live a successful life within the Amish community.

The Amish believe that children who will be farmers and farmers wives must enjoy physical work and must have the technical skills and knowledge to do their jobs well. These attitudes and skills cannot be learned in a classroom, but must be learned on the job. A boy learns to plow by plowing, by noting the condition of the soil, the degrees of moisture, the weight of the plow, the temperament of the horses. He learns how to plow a long, straight furrow, when to plow and when to wait for the soil to dry a little, whether to plow or disk. All of this is best learned by doing rather than sitting at a desk reading about it. He needs to develop physical skill, stamina and a great deal of judgment. This can be developed only by repeated experience. In the same way, the girl needs to learn how to prepare the soil for her vegetable garden, what to plant, when and how to plant it, how to care for the growing vegetables, when and how to pick them and then how to prepare and preserve them so they will be in peak condition for future use. By comparison, the forty-five minute home economics classes in the local high school seem pretty superficial.

After years of harassment (one father was arrested ten times) the Pennsylvania Amish were permitted to establish their specialized vocational schools. (Hostetler 1956.) After more years of arrests and fines the Amish in Ohio set up similar schools for their children who had finished the eighth grade and were not old enough to botain working papers. These schools report attendance to the state department of education but strictly speaking they have not been legalized by the state. In 1967 the Illinois Amish reached an agreement legalizing Amish vocational schools.

In 1965, four Amish fathers in Oklahoma who refused to send their children to high school agreed to have their children take correspondence courses. (*Gospel Herald*, Jan. 25, 1955:96.) In 1966, an Amish father in Kansas was fined (and finally moved out of the state) because his child was taking correspondence courses instead of going to high school. (State vs. Garber, 197 Kan. 567, 419 P2d 896 (Kansas, 1966) David Wagler, *Family Life*, Feb. 68:7, Sharon Garber, *Family Life* Mar. 68:17.) Two years later a bill was introduced into the Kansas legislature to allow Amish children to study correspondence courses at home under the direction of the public school. (Joseph Stoll, BB 3/68:188.)

Not only is there variation from one state to another, but there is also variation within a state. Some counties are over-zealous in their interpretation and enforcement of the law, others quietly permit all Amish children who have completed the eighth grade to stay at home and attend no formal school. The compulsory school age continues to rise; in Wisconsin it is expected to be raised to 18 in 1970, and it remains a problem for the Amish, whose very survival depends on the careful nurture of their adolescent young people.

Six, only six states require that teachers in non-public schools be certified. Amish have parochial schools in three of them and in two, Iowa and Michigan, it has been a source of trouble. The roughshod enforcement of the certification law by Iowa School officials resulted in protests from across the nation. (Erickson 1967:85ff; 1968b:33-34; 1969.) Amish parochial schools are in operation in Iowa and Michigan but their continuation depends almost as much on public support as on the limited legal safeguards that have been granted them.

Although Ohio is not one of the states that requires teachers in non-public schools to be certified, the department of education officials interpreted the Ohio laws, "a child not attending a public school must attend a school which meets the state board of education standards" (Ohio Legislative Service Commission 1960:5), to mean that "teachers in private schools must have the same certification as teachers in tax-supported schools," (Ibid.) The state has prosecuted Amish parents under this interpretation of the law. However, the state officials did not receive as much public support for their action as they wished and there have been no court case during the last few years. The Amish carefully comply with the attendance laws, but their parochial schools are not legally protected and lack of prosecution is primarily the result of sympathetic public opinion. Although Indiana does not require teacher certification in non-public schools either, that state also used the argument that a teacher with less than ten years of formal schooling could not provide educational training equivalent to that of the public schools to close an Amish school in Decatur County. As part of their 1967 agreement with the stated education authorities the Indiana Amish agreed to have as teachers only individuals who had passed the eighth grade satisfactorily and made a passing score on the General Educational Development High School Equivalency Test administered and graded by the State Department of Public Instruction.

Because the civil government and the Amish measure the teacher by different standards almost all teachers who are certified by the state are not considered qualified by Amish standard. (Appendix B, No. 31, 32.)

Seven, thirty-one states regulate the curricula of non-public schools either by specifically defining course requirements or by demanding various measures of equivalence between non-public and public school instruction. (Elson, in Erickson 1969:104.) However, even in states like Ohio and Michigan where there are lengthy specifications of statutory standards, there have been instances of public officials exceeding the intent of the law, as when they tried to close the Amish schools in Ohio; and other instances, for example in Michigan, where the officials report that the grant of power is too vague to enforce the curriculum standards in non-public schools. The major question is who is to determine equivalency? Iowa has the most detailed and restrictive policy concerning the curriculum to be taught in Amish parochial schools. In order to be permitted to maintain a school "proof of achievement in the basic skills of arithmetic, the communicative arts of reading, writing, grammar, and spelling, and an understanding of United States history, history of Iowa, and the principles of American government . . . shall be determined on the basis of tests or other means of evaluation selected by the state superintendent with the approval of the board." (Amendment to section 299.9 Code 1966, Iowa Senate file 785, July, 1967.)

The Indiana School Agreement (Appendix B, No. 26) lists the courses to be taught in the elementary school. Although it is not part of the agreement, the Indiana parochial schools may permit the testing of their pupils by state officials in 1970. The Minimum Standards for the Amish Parochial Schools of Ohio (Appendix B, No. 24) lists the graded course of study; the language arts including reading, writing, spelling and English, mathematics, geography and history, health and safety rules, German writing, reading and spelling and vocal music. The Amish in several other states; for example, Wisconsin, follow the Ohio Minimum Standards.

The curriculum for the vocational schools is specified in various degrees of detail by the different states in which Amish live; in some states there is no agreement but, as yet, a quiet tolerance.

The Amish conscientiously attempt to obey all these school regulations for they believe that the government is instituted by God and that Christians should be obedient to the government in all things that are not in direct conflict with the laws of God. They honor the government officials and pray for them and for their own children whom they fear the government's school may "take out of their hands and turn into men of the world."

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE AMISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

The Amish are a strongly congregational people. The unit of organization is the local church district; beyond the district there is no formal religious heirarchy. Different church districts and various geographical communities are held together by informal ties of kinship bonds, visiting patterns and similarity of belief and life style. Just as the churches which are self-governming units differ slightly from one another on specific rules of church order, so there is local variation in the organization and administration of the parochial schools. The schools have much in common, but decisions are made locally and so the details vary from one school to another and from one community to another. There are also differences due to variations in state laws.

Amish Elementary Schools

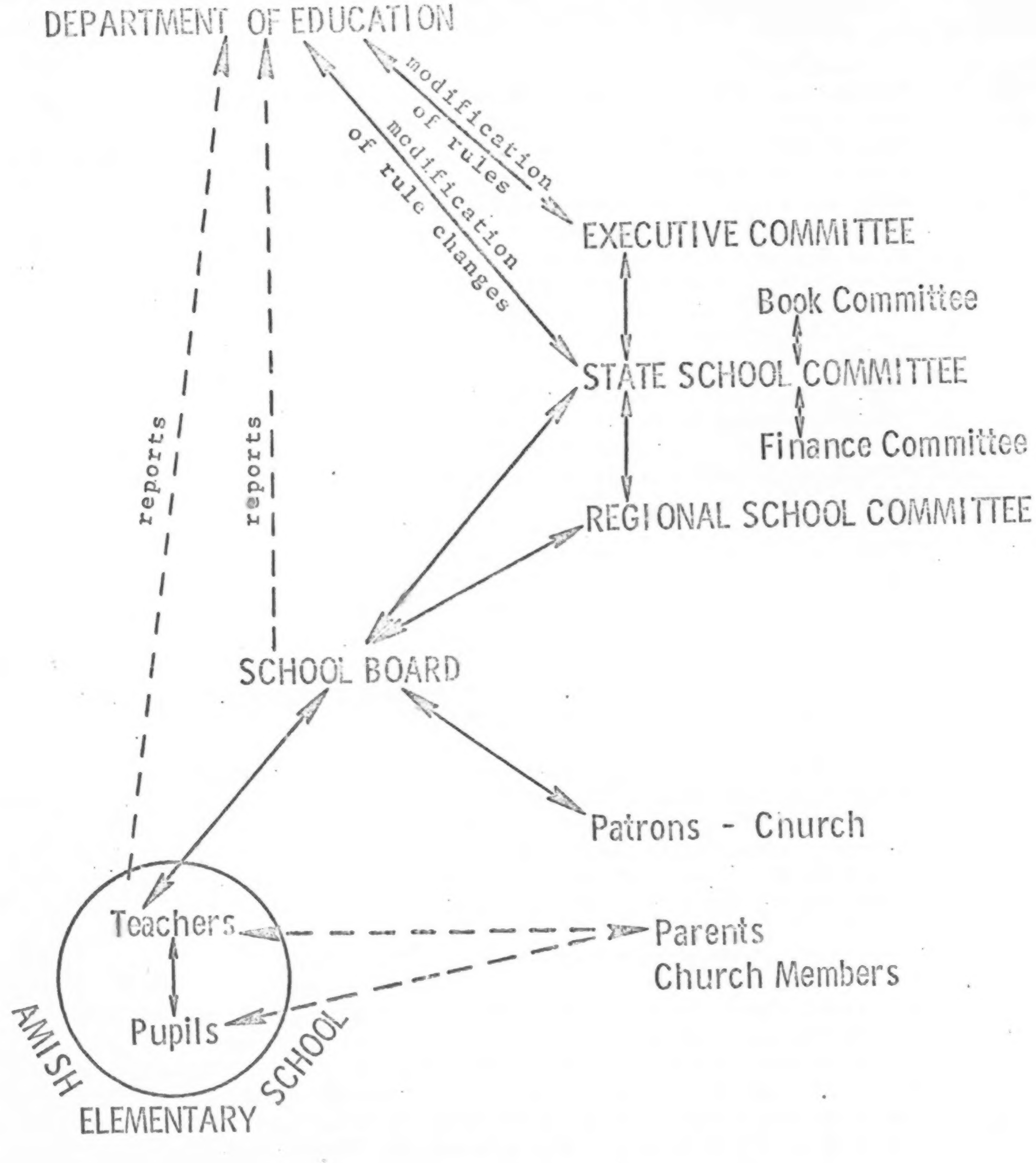
All Amish elementary schools are administered by a school board. In most areas each school has its own board, but sometimes several schools are administered by a single board. For example, in Wisconsin there are two schools under one board, (Menno M. Hershberger, BB 4/67:211) and in Pennsylvania there are six schools under one board. (Rebecca K. Stoltzfus, BB 11/66:91.) School boards consist of from three to six members with one of the members serving as president. There are various other positions that may be filled by board members or by other elected or appointed individuals: The clerk, keeps records of the meetings, The superintendent or director or committeeman, attends meetings on a township or county and state level. He is responsible for knowing any changes in civil rules that concern Amish parochial education and for implementing these changes in his school. (The committeeman is primarily a church district representative.) The treasurer collects the money needed for the functioning of the school, pays the teachers' salary, and is responsible for all the bills. Sometimes this position is subdivided into three: 1) an assessor, 2) a collector, and 3) a treasurer. The attendance or truant officer is responsible for seeing that the children are not illegally absent from school and that attendance records are forwarded to the department of education. In many schools the teacher forwards the reports and the attendance officer is rarely called in. Some schools do not have an attendance officer. These different positions with overlapping rules and responsibilities are confusing to the outside, but the seeming vagueness and minor variations, from school to school and from church to church, are cherished by the Amish who see in the fluidness of the organization a protection of their congregational social organization.

Board members are elected to their position by the patrons of the school. This usually means by a vote of all the church members of the district or districts in which the school is located. However, in some localities the school is supported by the parents rather than by the whole church. (Wilma Kuhns, BB 1/67:123, Mrs. Allen A. Bontrager, BB 11/66:92) in which case the parents elect the board members. When children of several different Old Order church affiliations (non-communing churches) attend one school the members of each different church affiliation may elect one board member.

In Pennsylvania, school board members often serve for a long time. Samuel K. Fisher has served on the board since the first parochial school was established in his area over twenty years ago. (Rebecca K. Stoltzfus, BB 11/66:91.) In Delaware a man served as treasurer for twenty years. In central Ohio the school board term is generally three years, with the man having served longest acting as president, then he can usually expect to be off the board for one year between terms. The school board takes a great deal of time, energy, work and personal skill so the year of rest is generally appreciated. Ministers, who are often busy with similar responsibilities, are not elected to school boards; however, they do serve as teachers. (M. E. Hershberger, BB 4/67:226, Mrs. Henry Schrock, BB 67:162.)

The school board hires and fires the teacher, pays her salary, enforces attendance laws, supplies the equipment needed by the school and keeps the building and playground in good condition. It sets the tuition fee and levies or assesses the "school tax" against those who have elected them. (Appendix B, No. 24.) The school board meets as a unit with the teacher, ideally once a month. These are open meetings and parents and other church members are encouraged to attend. (Jonas Nisly, BB 5/65:156; Amanda N. Hershberger, BB 4/65:132-133.) The school board is responsible to the patrons, which usually means to the church, for the smooth functioning of the school.

The state board meetings are held annually for members of the school boards, committeemen and other interested church members. Pennsylvania has held such meetings regularly since 1957, (Ezra Kanagy, BB 8/64:1) Ohio since about 1958, and Indiana since 1964. (Dan A. Hochstetler, BB 8/65:6.)


DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
modification of rules
modification of rule changes
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Book Committee
STATE SCHOOL COMMITTEE
Finance Committee
REGIONAL SCHOOL COMMITTEE
reports
reports
SCHOOL BOARD
Patrons - Church
Teachers
Pupils
Parents
Church Members
AMISH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AMISH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

◄ ARROWS indicate direction of flow of information

—— SOLID LINES indicate major paths

Different terms are used in different communities
All committees are not found in every area

Officers are elected by a vote of those present at the meeting. (L.F.B. (Lydia F. Beiler) BB 8/67:23.) When a new state board was set up in Indiana, the ministers and men of districts that were operating schools were eligible to vote. In these three states with the largest Amish populations there have been statewide meetings at earlier dates. For example, the Amish Church School Committee (of Pennsylvania) was established in 1937. Through the years, it attempted to clarify the Amish position on education (Appendix B, No. 22) to state education officials. In 1965, it merged with the Pennsylvania state school committee; however, it continues to meet (annually in August) as the Vocational Plan Committee. In Ohio the state delegative committee sets the standards for the parochial schools (Appendix B, No. 24) because no agreement has been worked out between the department of education and the Amish. (Ohio Legislative Service Commission 1960.) In Indiana the state committee met informally before 1964 to draw up the vocational plan. Continuity is extremely important on these state committees and most of the officers serve for a long time. Aaron E. Beiler served on Old Order Amish Church School Committee from its instigation in 1937 until his death in 1968. He is succeeeded by his son-in-law Elam H. Beiler.

The state committee has several subcommittees. There is the small executive committee that works directly with the education officials forging necessary adjustments between the state department of public education and the Amish parochial schools. These committee men also meet with Amish in other areas who are contemplating establishing a school. Pennsylvania has had an Old Order Book Society, or a subcommittee of the state board, but with other members also. The original function of this society was to find, and print, if necessary, books suitable for use in Amish parochial schools. Now, this committee functions as a state treasury to help provide funds for the establishment of new parochial schools. (Ezra Kanagy, BB 8/65:2.) In Indiana there is a book and curriculum committee and a treasury committee. The treasury committee has the same function as in Pennsylvania. The curriculum committee is working towards a uniform curricula for the Amish schools in the state. This uniformity is encouraged by the Articles of Agreement (Appendix B, No. 24.) The Ohio Amish, who tend to be more conservative than those in Indiana or Pennsylvania, have a less developed state organization. Their chief spokesman, Henry Hershberger pointed out to the Amish School Study Committee of the department of education that "Amish schools, like Amish churches, are self-governing units. Lack of centralization is important to both."

(Ohio Legislative Service Commission 1960:20.) For a similar statement from Pennsylvania, see Appendix B, No. 22. The Ohio parochial school standards drawn up by the state Delegative Committee has been used in Indiana and Wisconsin to help in getting state recognition for Amish parochial schools.

The development of parochial schools among the Amish is so recent that they are still in the process of becoming institutionalized. It has taken patience, and much work, on the part of a committed few, to persuade the Amish as a group that they should go to the effort and expense of maintaining their own schools. The inflexibility and uncooperativeness of some of the public education officials have helped immeasurably to hasten the establishment of Amish schools. However, in areas where the school officials have continued to permit the retention of small rural public schools, the Amish still prefer them.

Because the organization of the parochial school system is relatively fluid, it is difficult to generalize about the financial basis. In 1965 one Amishman commented, "There are eight or nine different [school] boards or districts here in Lancaster County, and only a few have the same way of collecting funds." (Elam H. Beiler, BB 4/65: 123.) There are two basically different types of financial requirements: 1) the building or establishing of a new school and 2) the running of an established school. Different methods are often used to obtain funds for these two categories of expenses. The church building may be owned by the church district, by a few parents, or by a single individual. The land is often donated for the school (BB 66:192), money for the new school may have been raised by free-will donations, by taxing the Amish church members according to their property evaluation, by assessing each family head or each member a specified amount or by any combination of these plans. Or the money may all be supplied by share-holders in the schools, in which case a part may have been borrowed (often interest free) from church members. Generally the materials are bought and the labor is supplied free of charge by the community (or by the parents, depending on whether or not it is a church sponsored or parent sponsored school). Even with the large amount of donated labor, the Amish schools today usually cost between $5,000 and $10,000 to build. (BB 10/66:63; John F. Beiler, BB 5/66:192.) As the parochial school movement is gaining more support among the Amish there is a growing tendency for the schools to be financed by the whole church, rather than by a group of parents, and for financial basis to be enlarged. Thus, church districts are grouping together to support their parochial schools. At first these groupings included neighboring areas, (Monroe L. Yoder, BB 3/65:116) then whole Amish communities (Uria Byler, BB 9/66:47, John E. Otto, BB 12/66:108) and now there is an effort to have most of the cost of new schools born by all the Amish of a single affiliation within the whole state. Pennsylvania and Indiana (St[illegible] 1965:62) are working out such programs. The various settlements in Ohio have their own methods for financing new schools rather than a state-wide organization, money needed in excess of that provided by the cluster of church districts is supplied by the local school district. As enthusiasm for parochial schools gains momentum there is a growing feeling that all Amishmen, whether or not they have children in parochial schools, should contribute to the support of these schools.

Most Amish parochial schools are run very efficiently with a great deal of the labor and even some of the materials being donated. All the janitorial care and incidental labor on the building and grounds is given freely. The physical plant is simple, with a low upkeep. The dedicated teachers serve willingly for relatively low wages. During the school year 1965-66 the thirteen Amish schools in Geauga County with a pupil enrollment of 599 spent $24,087.21 on the twenty teachers' salaries and running expenses. Although this was considered expensive by the Amish (Uria R. Byler, BB 9/66:47) it is, by comparison with most school systems, very good. During the 1966-67 academic year an average of $455. was spent to instruct each public grammar school pupil (Samuel G. Sava, *Saturday Review* November 16, 1968 p. 102). In other words, if the 599 Amish children had been educated in the public schools, it would have cost $272,545. for the same period. A parent from Maryland pointed out that the Amish schools there operate on the amount of money it cost the county the previous year just to transport the children to school. (Andrew Hertzler, BB 3/68:189.)

The operating expenses for the parochial schools are also obtained in a variety of ways: free-will offerings by church members, assessing according to real estate evaluation combined with a poll tax and tuition. Often these methods are combined. If the school is owned by only some of the parents, then different tuition is charged to those who do not own a share. Tuition is never used exclusively. It may run as high as $18.00 per month. (Uria Byler, BB 9/66:47.)

The free-will offering system is described by a school board member of a community in which it is used exclusively:

> "All our funds, such as for building and repairs, supplies of a permanent nature, desks, books, and the teachers' wages, are raised by the free-will offering system . . . We feel the school is a church responsibility, and so it happens that sometimes there are families with maybe only one or no children in school, who are better able financially to bear the load than other families with a larger number of small children in school. Each member gives as his conscience dictates, dropping his offering into a box once a month, and the teacher is paid out of the proceeds. the funds build up to where, after the teacher has been paid, there is enough left in the box for another month's payment (which rarely happens) the next donation is skipped. But if, as sometimes also happens, there is not enough in the box to pay the teacher, mention of the fact is made the next time, and this usually brings results." (Abner Wagler, BB 3/63.)

The tuition system is described by a teacher in a community where it is used:

> "Each church member of both the north and south Troy church districts is to pay $5.00 annually to pay for coal, repairs, and books. Any money left was put on the debt, and as that is now paid, the balance goes to help pay the teachers. Only those parents having children in school pay tuition, and it is the same for each family, no matter how many or how few scholars each had. Any orphan children's or needy family's tuition is paid out of the church treasury." (Menno M. Hershberger, BB 5/63.)

An assessment system of support is described by a parent:

> "When money is needed, the treasurer sends word to the various church districts, and the fact is announced in church, and how much is needed. Usually it is $5.00 per church member. In the fall, and again around New Year, a collection is taken that is figured on the assessed valuation." (Monroe L. Yoder, BB 3/65:116. See also Elam H. Beiler, BB 4/65:122 and Effie Mast Troyer, BB 10/65:38.)

This system is the most widely used among the Amish but the ease with which it is administered varies greatly from one district to another. An Amishman urging his coreligionists to help finance the schools pointed out that you can't take your property to heaven with you—but you can take your children.

Amish Vocational Schools

Amish children who have successfully completed the eighth grade and are fourteen years old or older are eligible to attend the Amish vocational schools. Graduates from several elementary schools come together one-half day a week under the direction of a teacher; the rest of the school hours they work at home. In Pennsylvania the vocational schools are administered by the Vocational Plan Committee which is an outgrowth of the Old Order Amish Church School Committee which was responsible for getting the first vocational plan established in 1955. (They had been working on it since 1937.) (Appendix B, No. 22.) Each church district has one committeeman whose responsibility it is to see that the vocational school plan is properly carried out. The committeemen often take turns visiting the weekly classes. Most vocational schools have their own teachers, but when there are very few students they may attend the elementary school for their supervised work. In Indiana the vocational schools are under the jurisdiction of the state board instead of a separate committee. The administration of the vocational school is covered in detail in the agreement of 1967. (Appendix B, No. 25.) The vocational schools in Ohio are based on the Pennsylvania plan and have been in operation for almost as long. However, they are not protected by Ohio law (nor are the elementary schools legally protected). These schools are tolerated primarily because legal efforts to prosecute the parents and institutionalize the child have proved unpopular with the general (non-Amish) population.

In Ohio most of the vocational teachers are men, several are ministers and one teaches three different schools each week. These men are chosen because they are good with young people, interested in education, and successful as Amishmen, both materially and spiritually. Sometimes the regular elementary school teacher also handles the vocational class. The teachers turn in monthly attendance reports and keep records of the student's work and copies of their home projects. (Appendix B, No. 23, 25.) The vocational classes usually meet in parochial school buildings on Saturday, or Friday afternoon or in unused school buildings or temporarily even on someone's farm. Some of the newer schools in Indiana have a section of the basement furnished for the vocational class.

The Amish prefer to have their children at home, learning through participation in family work to become Amish men and Amish women, to having them attend the vocational school. As the anthropologist, Dorothy Lee (in Spindler 1963:175) pointed out in her analysis of home economics courses in American high schools, "the school cannot guide a girl to learn to become a woman through sharing the life and work of her mother . . . [for] the girl is required by law to absent herself from the home during the time when the everyday work of the home is carried on." Therefore the Amish object strongly to high school and if it becomes a choice between attending high school and establishing a vocational school they will set up their own schools. There are vocational classes in Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri and Kansas. Parents, as well as the children, are learning that these schools can be of significance as educational institutions (for a discussion of the curriculum, see the latter section of this chapter).

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMISH SCHOOL

Most Old Order Amish parochial schools consist of one or two class rooms, often with an entrance room, sometimes a book room and the newer schools have a finished basement where the children play during inclement weather. Rural one and two room school houses are purchased from the state when they are available, moved if necessary and often extensively remodeled. The Amish dislike the high ceilings typical of "state" buildings and so they often lower the ceiling, creating a cosier, more homelike atmosphere. Most often there are no old school houses available and the Amish build their own. They are well-built, of glazed tile, cinder block, brick facing or aluminum siding. There is careful concern to build in such a way that full advantage is taken to natural available light (for their schools do not have electricity). The Amish school houses have old-fashioned rope-pulled school bells. Doors open outward, the buildings are insulated, proper ventilation is provided for and materials that can easily be kept clean are used throughout the school. Schools in certain communities have indoor lavatories, however, in most areas out-houses are preferred. The Amish building committees have their blueprints approved by the state officials and work closely with the health officers of the state "who know better than we do how a school should be designed." (Joseph Stoll 1965:61.) The same set of blueprints may be used for more than one school. One room schools are usually between 24-30 feet by 34-48 feet. If the terrain is suitable the building is set true with the directions of the compass for this helps the children learn directional orientation. In Kishacoquillas Valley all the schools are built with the teacher's desk and blackboards at the north end of the building because then "when the children face north to study maps, the lay of the county and the land will be imprinted in their minds exactly as it is." (Ezra Kanagy, BB 11/65:71.) The Amish school houses do not have the grace of early Shaker buildings, but they are simple, sensible, serviceable and well-built of good quality material. Today, even with donated labor, such a school costs about $7,000.00 to build. (See Figures 42-48 for photographs of Amish parochial schools.)

The site of each school is carefully considered. Ideally it is located on a well-drained parcel of land that provides a large, safe play area for the children. If possible, it is located in such a way that all the pupils can walk to school. However, quite a few schools build small barns for the horses of children who come to school by buggy and in Pennsylvania and Indiana some of the children ride to school on public school buses. Every school has a ball field, some have as many as three baseball diamonds. Only a few schools have swings or see-saws but things such as sledding and ice skating are considered when choosing a location. The parents graded the land at one school to build sledding area for the children.

Typically an Amish school is entered through a cloak room in which the children hang their hats and jackets, bonnets and shawls and store their boots and lunch buckets. The girls use one side of the room, the boys the other. In some of the newer schools wraps are hung in the basement. The main class room is usually entered at the back of the room. The teacher's desk is at the front as is a recitation bench. Along the front wall is a large chalkboard, above which is the alphabet and the children's names and grades on decorated posters. Along the side walls are large windows and either bulletin boards or chalkboards. In schools with cinder block or tile walls all the walls are used as bulletin boards. The amount of decoration is determined by the personality and interests of the teacher and by the church district which controls the school. The most conservative church districts allow almost no decoration. Only the children's names, ages and grades and such things as a calendar and spelling charts and perhaps a few mottos are permitted. Compared to Hutterite schools (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:67-73) where nothing is permitted to be hung on the walls or left on the top of the teacher's desk or table, even these classrooms appear to be decorated. In most Amish church districts there are many gay decorations on both the walls and windows, but the rooms are never cluttered. The impression is one of lightness, brightness and order. Most often the desks and chairs have been bought from old public schools and refinished. (See drawings, Figure 5 and 7.) They are smooth and shiny although they probably date from before World War I. The desks are screwed to strips of wood, four to a plank, so that the room can be rearranged, but the desks will not easily get out of line. Most teachers prefer these to individual desks for the children.

The large majority of Amish parochial schools have only one room. Some are designed so that a second classroom can be built on. The two room school houses may be built with a movable partition that enables the rooms to be widened for meetings and large gatherings. Occasionally, two teachers will teach in one large classroom but this has obvious disadvantages. It seems to work most successfully when the teachers are husband and wife or two sisters who naturally "team teach."

SCHEDULE, CURRICULA AND TEACHING METHODS

Elementary School Schedule

All Amish elementary schools follow the same basic schedule and it is virtually identical with that followed in the one room rural schools of twenty years ago. The day is divided up in to four major periods of approximately an hour-and-a-half each. Between each period is a recess or the noon break. During each period the various classes recite; generally about ten minutes is allowed for each class recitation. The children who are not reciting know when it will be their turn and what they should be studying. Questions from students studying in their seats are answered between classes but rarely during recitation.

Amish schools start anywhere from 7:30 to 9:30 in the morning with most of them beginning at 8:30 or 9:00 and then finishing between 2:30 and 4:30 in the afternoon. There is fifteen minute recess in the middle of the morning and the middle of the afternoon and an hour break for lunch in the middle of the day.

Often the teacher has the subject she believes to be the hardest or the most important schedules for the first hour. Some schools have reading first, some arithmetic.

Spelling is generally considered an easy subject and is usually scheduled late in the afternoon, as is art or handicrafts if the school has these, or various educational games or special projects.

All schools have an opening period that includes the singing of hymns and reciting a prayer, usually the Lord's Prayer. Whether or not these exercises are in English or German or both depends largely upon the community. The most German seems to be used in Ohio where some schools never pray or sing in English. In Indiana there are a few schools that only use English during the opening exercises. Most schools use both and sing both English and German hymns. Some schools read from the Bible during the opening exercises. They may read the selection from the Sunday church service in order to tie the school and the church more closely together. In other schools a Bible story may be read from a book such as Egermeier's *Bible Story Book* (1934) or Hurlbut's *Story of the Bible* (1904). Sometimes a teacher may read a story from a book such as *Fireside Tales* (published by Fordham, Metropolitan Press, Dundee, Ill. 1939) or *The Drummer's Wife; Titus, A Comrade of the Cross; The Lord is My Shepherd* or *Worth Dying For*, all published by Pathway Publishers. Occasionally, a teacher may read a completely secular book such as a Nancy Drew mystery. In addition to the opening exercises in the morning, many teachers read to the children for a few minutes at the beginning of the afternoon session. Many schools sing a song before dismissing for lunch and some recite a noon prayer. Children often sing one or more songs before dismissal and some sing as they file out of their seats to put on their wraps. Although not considered a regular subject, (it is graded in Indiana, see Appendix B, No. 47) singing is very important in Amish schools and teachers are always interested in learning new songs, new ways of teaching songs and ways to encourage children to enjoy singing. Not only do children learn many hymns, but in some schools they also learn to lead songs according to the Amish tradition. In one school the teacher gently coaxed a fourth grade boy to lead a song. When he finally opened his mouth the whole room filled with music. When pupils visit between schools they always sing together and teachers always sing at their meetings and gatherings. (BB 8/68:9-13.)

Elementary School Curriculum

Academic Subjects: The slight variation in the curricula of Amish elementary schools is determined by local preferences and by different state education department rulings on private school curricula. Basically, the children learn English, including reading, grammar, spelling, penmanship and to a limited extent, composition. They learn arithmetic; adding, subtracting, multiplying, decimals, dividing, percentages, ratios, volumes and areas, conversion of weights and measures and simple and compound interest. New math is not taught. Most schools teach some health, history and geography; some teach a little science and art. The most conservative Old Order Amish substitute agriculture for history and geography. The text they use is *Agriculture and Farm Life*, Harry A. Phillip, Edgar Cockefair, James Graham, Teachers College, Missouri, (Macmillan Co. 1936, and 1952). Reading is taught by the phonetic method, the children learn their letters and sounds before they begin reading. In grammar they learn the parts of speech and the rules of usage.

The textbooks used are determined by the school board, with or without consultation with the teacher. Pennsylvania and Indiana have statewide committees to help with the selection of books. The Old Order Amish Book Society publishes a list of books suitable for parochial school. (Appendix B, No. 53.) Various textbooks are discussed in the *Blackboard Bulletin* and at teachers' meetings and informally by teachers whenever they meet. When a school first opens it may use whatever textbooks are available. In one instance the families brought in all the textbooks they owned and from these enough were gathered for the school. In other areas local public school teachers and administrators have been generous in donating discarded books to the parochial school and in other cases older books have been purchased at reduced prices. Older texts may be preferred because they are familiar; they have been used by parents and other community members and thus represent shared knowledge. They may be preferred because there is less science and fewer modern developments such as television incorporated into the stories. The pictures are also considered less offensive. The Amish are opposed to any sex education in school and to the type of health books that stress popularity and how to make oneself attractive. The Amish teach their children that they should adjust to others and not expect others to adjust to them: that one should not be concerned with how he can influence others, but rather how he can serve them.

Children may be taught reading from the *Alice and Jerry* series, the *Dick and Jane* series, the *Scott-Foresman New Basic Readers*, the *Golden Rule* series (also known as "The New McGuffy Readers"), the *Bible and Nurture* series (Rod and Staff Publisher, Crocket, Kentucky) and the original

McGuffey's Readers. (American Book Co.). More teachers than parents like the *Alice and Jerry* books. The teachers like teaching reading from them, but there is some concern with their worldliness and play orientation, "their meaningless prattle, their TV stories, and their pictures of children in bathing suits." (Joseph Stoll, BB 5/65:144.) Jules Henry pointed out that the illustrations in the *Dick and Jane* series subtly support conspicuous consumption; in each of a succession of stories "the entire family is wearing a different and attractive set of clothes." (Henry, in Erickson 1969:85.) The stories in the *Golden Rule* series all have a moral, but many of them are superficially patriotic or militaristic and are not really appropriate for a non-resistant group that tries to live "separated from the world." The *Bible Nurture and Reader* series has books for the first four grades. Only Bible stories are included in these readers. The stories are retold in simple vocabulary. The first sentence the children read is, "God is love." These books are new (1965) and are being used in a few Amish schools. There is some concern that they are too difficult, that new words are introduced too rapidly and without repetition (one thousand words are taught in the first grade). A traditional Amishman postulated that a child who dislikes reading might confuse reading and religion and be turned from religion. The children certainly sense that these are books that the teachers and parents believe are difficult, but essential and well worth the effort to master. The children appreciate learning material that their parents value. The Old Order Book Society recommends the Scott-Foresman New Basic Readers for the first four grades. They recommend using a phonics book, for example, J.B. Lippincott Co., *Reading with Phonics*. Other teachers recommend the phono-visual method.

The McGuffey Readers are widely used in Ohio, and this is not surprising, as they are written by one of the founders of the common-school system in Ohio and at a time when the "notion that education itself was primarily moral, and only secondarily intellectual" . . . and "that the primary business of schools was to train character," was held throughout America. (Commager 62:viii.) This, of course, coincides with the Amish attitude towards education. Even the brand of patriotism expounded in the McGuffy Readers is shared by the Amish for it is a "pride in the virtues of the beauties of the nation, not in its prowess or its superiority to other nations." (Commager, ibid, p. xv.) Just as the McGuffey Readers functioned during the mid-nineteenth century to produce a common body of allusion and a common frame of reference among most

Americans, so these readers still function today among the Amish in Ohio (and to a much lesser degree among the Amish in other states). Some of the teachers do not like the McGuffey Readers as much as the parents do. They complain that though many of the stories are good, the vocabulary is difficult and outdated and much of the material is not very meaningful to the children. The editor of the *Blackboard Bulletin* made a more basic criticism of these and other readers of the mid-nineteenth century. He noted that though the stories were highly moral in tone, that the moralism was often worldly and materialistic. Right was always rewarded—usually with an unexpected gift; wickedness was always discovered and properly punished. He says:

"But there are two things basically wrong with stories such as these. First, they are not real to life. Good little boys just aren't rewarded with pocket knives and gold coins every time they overcome a temptation and do what is right. And I for one don't want my children brought up to expect a reward for doing good. Secondly, in most of the old stories the reward is a material one. This is wrong, it seems to me. The reward for virtue should never be a matter of dollars and cents. If there is a reward, it is a spiritual one first of all. And children should know." (Joseph Stoll, BB 5/69:207.) Due to the difficulty of finding good reading books for their schools, The Pathway Publishers, an Old Order Amish publishing house in Canada, has undertaken the task of producing readers for the upper grades (grades fourth through eighth). (Pathway Reading Series 1968.) The Amish do not want their children to read fairytales or myths; many object to any stories that are not true such as those in which animals talk and act like people, or stories that involve magic such as the "Pied Piper of Hamlin." The stories must not glorify physical force, nationalism, militarism or modern technology. The subject matter should be American and rural if possible, for stories of distant countries and other cultures have little relevance for these children. Each story should teach a moral; those that are "just nice" are not good enough. It is difficult to find well-written stories suitable for grades 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 that meet all these requirements. However, in 1968, four readers were published; *Thinking of Others*, (Grade 5), *Step by Step* (Grade 6), *Seeking True Values* (Grade 7), and *Our Heritage* (Grade 8). Most of the stories and poems are selected but quite a few are of Amish authorship. The stories teach moral values, and Christian virtues of honesty, thrift, purity and love—without undue religiousity. There are also selections geared to help children appreciate nature and a rural way of life.

A sampling of the sections gives an idea of the topics covered. "Long, Long Ago," "Knowing Myself," "Lessons to Remember," "Animal Friends," "From Grandfather's Reader," "Growing Up," "Meeting the Test," "Nature's Secrets," "We Live and Learn," "Out of the Past," "Life on the Farm," "Our Forefathers," "Moments in History," "We Love Our Homes," "Lessons At School," "Nature's Paths," etc. Because these books are so new (1968) only a few schools have used them. However, parents and teachers appear enthusiastic about these books. (BB, 12/68:106-108, 5/69:200-222.)

A variety of books from different publishing houses are used to teach language skills. *English Activity* series is fairly widely used as are the Continental English workbooks. The Road and Staff Publishers are in the process of producing *The Building Christian English* series, for use in the Beachy Amish and non-conference Conservative schools. Only the third grade book has been completed. The announcement states that this series "relates English to God." No Old Order Amish schools are known to use it. A variety of spelling books are also used. In Ohio, *Essentials of Spelling* (American Book Co., first published 1919 and revised 1947) is about the most widely used. In Indiana workbooks from Wilcox and Follett (Chicago) are widely used. Very few workbooks are used in Ohio. *Learning to Spell* is printed and supplied by the Old Order Book Society.

Penmanship is taught in all the schools. Some use the Penmanship Pad printed by the Old Order Book Society in Pennsylvania.

As the public schools change textbooks from traditional arithmetic to new math the Amish parochial schools are sometimes able to obtain the old books. The most widely used arithmetic books are the *Strayer Upton Practical Arithmetic* series published by the American Book Company. (See Book List, Appendix B, No. 53.) They were first produced in 1928 and revised in 1934 and 1944.

The children in grades five through eight study American history and geography and world history and geography. A variety of different books are used depending on what is available. The most widely used are *The Man in His World* series by Silver Burdett Company (*Our Big World*—grade 4; *American Contenents*—grades 5, 6; *Old World Lands*—grades 7, 8) and *The Laidlaw History* series. The Amish have published two history books that are used in some elementary schools and in schools that teach ninth grade. Both books were printed for and distributed by the Old Order Book Society and copyrighted in 1963. They are: *Seeking a*

Better Country by Noah Zook and *Our Better Country, The Story of America's Freedom*, by Uria R. Byler. Both of these books include a fair amount of Amish history and help the children to understand their relation to secular history.

Uria R. Byler, in an article in the *Blackboard Bulletin* (3/67:191) pointed out that the children should be taught how long and careful the early framers of the constitution worked to protect the individual, and the religious rights of future American citizens, beginning and ending each of their working sessions with a prayer. The children should know the full meaning of the efforts of these deeply concerned men to them, as Amishmen, who are thus protected in their practice of religion and are permitted to attend their own schools.

Health classes generally follow the textbook quite closely. Two acceptable series are *The Road to Health* (1954) and *Laidlow Health* series which are used in many schools. These are much preferred to books such as *You and Others* Health and Personal Relations which have too little on physical care of the body and too much on how to get along.

Some of the schools, primarily in Indiana, have a full time ninth grade. This class has its own curriculum including home economics and agriculture, science, health, English, reading, arithmetic, and spelling. Often these pupils, if in with the lower eight grades, will assist with the checking of papers, listening to the younger children read and giving flash cards.

In one settlement in Ohio eighth graders from the thirteen parochial schools gather at the end of the year for achievement tests. The test is given in two sections, the first section at their own school, the second section at the assembled gathering—and the teachers take this test, too! At their own school the pupils write the counties of Ohio in alphabetical order, the names of the presidents of the United States in order of election, they draw free hand a map of their county, filling in each township and they label an outline map of the United States with the states and capitals. The achievement test is made up by the teachers who send in ten questions on each subject to one of the former teachers. Four or five former teachers get together and select twenty arithmetic problems, ten English questions, ten American geography questions, twenty spelling words, five questions on Canadian geography, five on Latin American geography and ten on Ohio history. This has proved to be a popular procedure. The two room schools in this settlement are built with a movable partition "so we can put it up for the eighth grade tests." There are so many eighth grade parochial students that the tests are now given simultaneously at two schools. (Peter E. Miller, BB 3/67.)

In addition to the basic academic subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, English, health, geography and history, most, but not all, the Amish elementary schools teach German. Before the Amish had their own schools and still attended public schools they often had supplementary German classes for the children to help them master the reading of high German so that they could read the Luther Bible. The spoken Amish language, "Pennsylvania Dutch," functions effectively to maintain the boundary between the Amish and the outside world. The relationship between these three languages (English, German and Pennsylvania Dutch) is a subject of concern in various Amish communities. It is hoped that Pennsylvania Dutch will be the preferred spoken language and will be used almost exclusively within the community. (Melvin E. Hershberger, BB 4/69:200.) It is felt that it is the family's responsibility to give their children a firm foundation in their mother tongue. The children must learn to speak, read and write English in order to live on the margin of twentieth century.

"And let's not delude ourselves and think that we can insulate ourselves against the world today. It is impossible to shut ourselves off completely and be isolated from our fellow citizens, the non-Amish. . . .In English we need to know how to write business letters and mail orders to a far greater extent than our ancestors did." (Uria R. Byler, BB 11/68:74.) It is the responsibility of the school to teach the children English. There is complete agreement that English only should be spoken during all school hours except for actual German classes. But there is disagreement as to whether English or Pennsylvania Dutch should be spoken on the playground. The majority of the schools encourage the use of English during recess for the teachers believe it helps the children become fluent in English. However, some parents fear that the children are becoming too fluent in English and are preferring it to Pennsylvania Dutch.

"In our home community . . . the young folks seem inclined to speak English while visiting with each other . . . This being the case, should we ban the speaking of German in our schools?" (Christian G. Esh, BB 1/69:124.) In order to understand the strong feelings aroused by the discussion of whether or not to allow Pennsylvania Dutch to be spoken on the playground, and how much time should be devoted to studying high German, it is necessary to review what English and German represent to most Amishmen. Joseph Stoll explains it well:

"As Old Order Amish, we associate German with church services and our home life—the religious and deeply moral part of our lives. German in a sense represents all that we have for centuries been trying to hold—our heritage as a non-conformed people, pilgrims in an alien land. It represents the old, the tried, and proven, the sacred way.

"The English language, by contrast, we associate with the business world, society, worldliness. English in a sense represents everything outside our church and community, the forces that have become a danger because they make inroads into our churches and lure people from the faith. Therefore, the English language, though acknowledged all right in its place, becomes suspect when associated with the lure of the world." (BB 5/69:208.)

Because of the close tie between the German language and religion in the minds of the Amish and because of history of learning German outside the school, some communities still have people come into the school to teach German. Often one of the respected men in the community will teach German half a day a week. In one school a parent was assigned to each of the upper grades (four and above) and he worked with "his" grade all afternoon. However, as the total community emotionally accepts the school as an integral part of it, the regular school teacher is taking over the role of German teacher. In no school that I know of is high German taught as a means of oral communication. All oral discussion is in Pennsylvania Dutch. Though not knowing how to converse in high German, most of the graduates of Amish elementary schools are expected to be able to read the Bible aloud in high German and to love its cadence even if they do not fully understand what they read. Some schools are teaching the children to write in Gothic script and some have written questions and answers on their reading in high German, others have oral questions and answers. (They are in Pennsylvania Dutch or English.) In addition to the German Testament, a variety of German primers are used. Most of them are available through Raber's Book Store, an Amish book store in Ohio that has these books reprinted. The most widely used is *Erstes Deutsches Lesebuch*, copyright 1887. The older children may use *Biblische Geschichten or History of the Patriarchs*, a nineteenth century book printed parallel in German and English. A book for use in the teaching of the German language in Amish elementary schools is now in preparation to be published by Pathway Publishers.

High German is more than just another language to the Amish. It is a part of their religious oral tradition, of their group memory and group wisdom. To remain as such, it must be learned "scientifically" as a tool for intellectual debate, but beautiful passages should be committed to memory and the measured sentences read aloud.

Religious Education: On the cover of the *Blackboard Bulletin* in January 1953, there appeared a diagram showing Education, Religion and Morality cojoined. Underneath was the statement, "The constant aim of our schools is to fuse morality, religion, and education into one broad goal. The goal is to teach children to live that they may have Life!" The circle of education circumscribed health, reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography, grammar, penmanship, history, science, art, literature, and music. The circle of morality surrounded *The Golden Rule*, Do unto others as ye would have them do unto you. Matt. 7:12. Between these two circles and touching both was the circle of religion. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting Life. John 3:16." Religion is central to the Amish way of life, it is the foundation of their morality and their secular education. It is so basic that it pervades everything they do. Because "Christianity pervades all of life, it will come out in all subjects in school" and therefore does not have to be taught as a separate subject.

The Old Order Amish Christianity is primarily ritualistic and non-theological. Their Christianity must be lived, not talked. They are critical of the person who shows off his knowledge of scripture by quoting passages every other sentence. This is considered a form of pride, and pride in any form is dispicable. Teachers are "advised not to include Sunday School lessons, nor induce the child to be Scripture-smart for religious show." (Aaron E. Beiler 1961:22.) The same source states (Ibid.7) "Too many parents are too prone and proud over the education of their children." In the parochial schools, Bible verses can be memorized and German can be learned from the New Testament, for like the singing of hymns, this is part of the ritual of the oral tradition of the Amish. It represents shared experience rather than intellectual analysis. In the same way the reading of the Bible (without comment) or of a Bible story during opening exercises and the unison recitation of the Lord's Prayer is of this tradition. All the Old Order Amish, even those who believe that the Bible should be studied in school, believe that Christianity is better taught by example than by lecture. "The best way to teach the Bible is to practice it." (John M. Bontrager, 1/68:129.)

"We can teach the Bible in our schools, but . . . if the Bible principles of love, forebearing, humility, and self-denial aren't practiced by parents and teachers, then I don't see where any Bible teaching in the school will have too much effect. A child will learn ten times as fast if the Christianity he is taught is also practiced, than he will by being merely told how to practice it." (Ezra Kanagy, BB 11/67:34; see also BB 3/68:194-195.)

There is strong feeling among the Amish that only the ministers, who have been called by God, should explain Scripture to an assembled group. Within the family the parents teach their children—but not other peoples' children. There are many divisions within the Old Order Amish church. The points of difference are so slight that it is difficult for anyone not directly involved to understand them, but they can cause great heartache to individuals. Disagreement on small points of doctrine or *Ordnungen* (rules for living) leads to dissension. Therefore, intellectual discussion and argued interpretation of the Bible can be dangerous to community solidarity. At informal gatherings people will talk about the Bible and refer to it, but in traditional Amish communities classes for Bible study are not acceptable, either within the community or within the school. The Bible used didactically rather than ritualistically is inflammatory.

Religion for the emergent Amish is intellectualized; it is applied by consciously using the mind. "What Bible verse is applicable to the way I feel?" "Can I find the verse to tell me what I should do next?" Religion for the Amish is much less self-conscious, the gestalt points the direction and the way, small sign posts are not needed at every crossroads. They know the direction even without reciting a specific quotation. The traditional Amish are attempting to keep this orientation, but because it is not intellectualized it is difficult to define logically, especially to those who are facile in quoting the Bible. This places the traditional Amish at a disadvantage when they must defend their position verbally rather than demonstrate it by their way of life. Realizing all too well this disadvantage some traditional Amishmen feel that they must be equipped to demonstrate their Christianity on all fronts and therefore they must study the Bible intellectually as well as learn it ritualistically. This feeling is more prevalent in the less traditional communities—for they are the ones who have greater contact outside their limited community and consequently are more aware of their lack of training in intellectual argument. Therefore there are Amish schools that do have Bible study and even Bible study taught by lay people.

The typical attitude among the Old Order Amish is expressed by Peter E. Miller when he writes "Reading from the Bible in school is necessity, but many feel that explaining the meaning should be left to someone else. We teachers could misinform the children." (BB 1968:164.) If the teacher is a woman there is further reason for her not to expound the Scriptures.

". . . about teaching Scripture in our schools. According to Holy Writ the faith *(Glauben)* comes from preaching and the preaching from the Word of God.

"We wouldn't think of having women preachers, would we? Then how far should we allow girl teachers to go in expounding Scripture? I think if each school is very very careful to hire teachers of humble, quiet nature; in good standing in the church; who keep order and have the gift of teaching, then the pupils will learn many a valuable lesson from their good example." (Menno M. Hershberger, BB 4/67: 224.)

The children learn hymns, memorize psalms and other passages, and in one school they made ABC books using a Biblical quotation in German for each letter of the alphabet and illustrating each page with a drawing or a picture cut from a magazine. In some schools the ministers take turns coming into the classroom to talk to the children or to lead devotions. (Iowa, BB 4/69:190, Virginia, BB 11/67:85.)

Even though the Bible is not taught as a subject it is woven into many explanations and admonitions; it is used to interpret the physical world, to learn the lessons nature can teach man.

"The water washes gently against the rocks—gently, yet never giving up—and finally the rock gives way to make the path smoother; and I have learned the power of living words." ("I Long to Teach Them Wisdom," BB 12/68: 98.)

A teacher writes a letter to her pupil in which she says:

"We have learned this verse, "For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace.

"Therefore, thou must take heed of thy actions; that they do not cause confusion but let thy words and thy deeds be peaceful; that thou mayest please the Lord." (Mary Arlene Byler, BB 2/67:163.) Throughout the letter she uses Biblical teaching (as well as terminology) to support the rules of the classroom, the attitudes she is fostering and the goals the children are striving for. This use of religion is acceptable for it is used to teach morality; its truth is a priori; it is beyond the realm of dispassionate study. The Bible is to be believed, not analyzed.

Extracurricular Learning: The Amish pupils learn many things at their school that are not strictly part of the curriculum but help them to become well-socialized members of the larger community. Amish visitors are always welcomed at the school. The children are quietly pleased to have them, the teacher greets the visitors and introduces them to the children, telling not only who the visitors are but where they come from. Usually the visitors say a few words to the children and the children sing some songs for the guests. The children enjoy this interaction with the wider community and are appreciative of adults coming to their school. The children often learn something of other Amish communities for the guests may be parents or neighbors or may be from out of state. Not only do adults come but vocational students, recent graduates and seventh and eighth grade pupils from other schools visit, adding to the network of relationships within the wider community. Some schools exchange letters with other parochial schools and the children have pen pals in other communities whom some day they will meet. Some schools publish school papers which they take home to their families and also exchange with other schools. When someone in the neighborhood is ill, the children write letters and perhaps make a scrapbook. Sometimes they will even go and sing for an elderly neighbor who is ill. All these activities help the children to learn their responsibilities and understand their place in the wider Amish community.

In some schools the daily writing lesson is a news item, either about the neighborhood or a selection from the *Budget*, a paper that circulates widely among the Amish. (Nisley, 1960, BB 1/66:100.) These writing lessons also relate the child to his community.

Almost all the janitorial work is done by the teacher and the children. They tend the furnace, bring in the wood or coal, pick up the yard and keep the schoolroom swept. It is their school. Their parents paid for it, they built it with their own hands and now the children and their teacher are keeping it warm, clean and neat. In most cases this helps produce a strong tie of affection. However, in spite of this, and especially in Amish communities where there are several church affiliations or where there are problems within the church, the school may be a target for adolescent vandalism. (See Windows in Figure 42.) Occasionally, a few rebellious young people will vent their hostility toward authority on the school building. (In some areas "English" young people also vandalize the Amish schools.)

Very few children live close enough to the school to go home for lunch. Most bring sandwiches, (which they may heat on the furnace) and eat at their desks during the first ten or fifteen minutes of the noon hour. The rest of the hour they are free. When the weather is pleasant they play vigorously in the school yard, but during the winter there is a long time to spend inside. Schools with finished basements have lively games of various types of dodgeball or pingpong games with as many as twenty children playing at once circling the table each with his own table tennis paddle. They may play pussy-in-the-corner, hopscotch, red light, fruit basket, or blind man's buff. They also play board games such as parchesi, checkers, Chinese checkers, Sorry, carrom. Jacks and marbles are popular and in some schools they play dominos and educational lotto. They also put together puzzles and play chalk games at the blackboard. The youngest ones like to play school. Outside, if there is play equipment such as swings, see-saws and basketball hoops, these are popular; but nothing is as well liked, especially by the older children, as baseball. When there is snow they sled and play fox and geese. Other popular games are prisoners base, grey wolf, kick the can, Red Rover, Andy-over, follow-the-leader, and a variety of different tag games. Children are encouraged to play as a group. Two or three children standing around is not permitted nor are the children allowed to exclude one another from their talk or play. (Mrs. Silvia Raber, BB 5/65:149; Uria Byler, 1969:128.) Some teachers use the winter noon hour to teach the girls to knit, crochet or embroider. In good weather, the teachers go outside with the children and often join in the games with them.

Teachers take their students on trips. These may be small walks into the woods to observe the fall colors and enjoy a picnic, they may go by hay wagon to a neighboring farm to eat their lunch and watch the well-drillers, during the noon hour they may walk to the house of a "shut-in" to sing for him. Sometimes the children in the upper grades will go by horse and buggy with their teacher to visit other Amish schools while the younger children are taught by a substitute. In many areas it is the custom at the end of the school year to take the seventh and eighth grade students on a trip. These trips last only one day, but it is not unusual for the day to begin at five in the morning, end after ten at night and involve hundreds of miles of driving. One such year-end trip included stops at points of national historic interest, places of historic interest to the Amish, the airport, several small factories producing food products, an egg grading plant and the state experiment station. Sometimes they go to the state capital. They may visit a hospital.

They always stop at a city store and have about forty-five minutes to look around and shop for souvenirs. The pupils learn a great deal on these trips and they are long remembered as very special days.

The curriculum in the Amish elementary schools is conservative. The scheduling of classes, the subjects selected for study, the games played are all familiar— "tried and true."

The children are presented with the appropriate facts which they are encouraged to learn thoroughly rather than to question critically. These basic facts form a part of their "shared knowledge" and thus will help the community remain of one mind, for decisions will be made from a common base of knowledge. Amish pupils are taught correct answers. Even if there is a range of possible alternatives, the children are generally taught that one of the possibilities "is right for you." This is consistent with the church deciding as a unit what rules will be applicable (what behavior is correct) in their own church district.

While the public school child is being trained to "contribute to the great events of his time," (Educational Policies Commission 1962:11) and is learning the attitude expressed by the lines

May we make our lives sublime
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

the Amish child is being taught not to be overly concerned with his place in this world but to concentrate on preparation for eternity. He is told:

"Do all the good you can, but do not feel important; This world would be here anyhow, even if you and I had never been born. (Appendix B, No. 46.)

What is not a part of the Amish school curriculum is as important as what is taught, for the school functions as one of the boundary maintaining mechanisms for the culture, keeping the children sheltered from "the world." Most Old Order Amish attribute a positive teaching role to their schools, but the few most conservative of the Old Order affiliations see the role of the school as primarily negative, its function is to remove unnecessary and dangerous facts from the children's environment. These churches do not want either geography or history to be taught, for both subjects bring in the outside world with its wars, intrigues and technology. Instead, their children study agriculture. This type of thinking is illustrated by a letter sent to *Family Life*. The editor, who is himself Old Order Amish, labeled it "Pull the Shades, Please."

"Honestly, now, for us who do not consider this world our home, (we are just passing through) what's the value of reading in "World Wide Windows" about 22,000 dead soldiers, police chiefs, Viet Cong officers, Detroit, National affairs, North Korea, U.S. Intelligence ships, governments lying to each other, etc. If I want my children to read the world news, then I will get the world's newspaper." (M. H. April 1968:2.)

Most Amish want their children to study history and geography (Joseph Stoll, 1967:144-145); however, in the vast majority of Amish schools, where history is taught, facts are learned but interrelationships are not stressed. Secular man searches for pattern and meaning in history, for reasons and explanations of distant events. Religious man does not need to; he know the world is orderly for it is ordered by God.

Ideally, the curriculum of the Amish elementary school should help the child to live his Christianity and thus eventually to achieve, not historical acclaim, but eternal salvation.

Teaching Methods in the Elementary School

There is no distinction between an Amish teacher's way of life and his teaching methods. He teaches primarily by his being an exemplary individual in close contact with the children. In present-day jargon, he is a role-model. But he is more than a role-model for he also imparts facts along with his attitudes and his beliefs as to how these facts should be used and how they fit into an Amish world view. He creates the atmosphere of the school. He is the shepherd, the responsible adult, who being older and more experienced, knows better than the children what is good for them. The classroom runs smoothly, for there is no pretense that the children make the decisions. An Amish teacher quietly tells a child what to do and he does it. Obedience is basic to a good school, "not just part of the time, but all of the time," and so is order. "Let everything be done decent and in order" (I Cor. 14:40) is a motto on the wall of a classroom. "For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace" (I Cor 14:33) is recited by the pupils of another school. Orderliness is believed to make for more security and less tension in the lives of the pupils.

("Thirteen Beatitudes for Teachers," BB 4/65:125; 11/66:11.) In his book *School Bells Ringing* Uria Byler (1969 in press) writes: "Do unto others, as you would have others do unto you" (Luke 6:30) "should be placed in front of the schoolroom where all children can see and study it, and the teacher should quite often point to it as a reminded that this Golden Rule shall be followed at all times." The Golden Rule is not compatible with individual competition. It is a contradiction to teach children simultaneously to compete and to "have love one to another." (Jules Henry 1963: 295-297.) There is some competition but it is usually structured to support the group. The children will try to have better attendance this week than last week, better spelling scores this month than last month. They may even vie with another school for good attendance, or the teacher may post weaker spelling scores from a school at which she taught some years ago and the children as a school (or as a class) try to do better than her other school did. The Amish believe that an individual's talents are God-given; (Amanda N. Hershberger, BB 4/67:223) therefore, no one should be praised if he is an easy learner, nor condemned if he is a slow learner. Such is God's will and there is a place for each person God created. The teachers and children are tolerant of these differences; each child is expected to work hard and use his time well; he is not expected to master the same amount of material. (Amos M. Sherk, BB 4/68:215.) There is no effort made to hide such differences, for though slowness in intellectual learning makes for added difficulties, it is nothing to be ashamed of:

Little children you should seek
Rather to be good than wise;
For the thoughts you do not speak
Shine out in your cheeks and eyes.
(Appendix B, No. 46.)

This attitude is not too different from that of the Hopi Indiana. "A man need not be ashamed of being poor, or of being dumb, so long as he was good to others. (Dorothy Lee 1959:20.) And a quick mind is not an asset in itself, but only when used properly. Many Amish believe that what is learned slowly is remembered better. Abraham Lincoln was quoted (BB 2/68:161), "My mind is like a piece of steel—very hard to scratch anything on it, but almost impossible after you get it there, to rub it out."

If you would have your learning stay,
  Be patient don't learn too fast;

The man who travels a mile each day,
May get around the world at last.
(Appendix B, No. 46.)

Subject grades are given for achievement, not effort. Daily and weekly grades are averaged mathematically with test grades to get the score that goes onto the report card. The children know what their daily grades are, in some schools they too keep such a record, so they can also work out their own average. Grades are not juggled around "to motivate the student," rather students are taught to accept the level of work they are able to do, to always work hard to do better, to "try, try again" (Appendix B, No. 45) and to remember that, "it isn't so bad when you have tried and can't succeed as when you start thinking of giving up before you have really tried." (Appendix B, No. 46.) "God does not ask for success but for effort." Differences in ability are assessed realistically and accepted matter-of-factly.

The "discussion method" is not considered appropriate for academic subjects for every child is expected to learn the facts and be able to recite them. Instead of wild handwaving and competing for the chance to answer; the teachers question each child, each is given his turn to answer, and each child answers the same number of questions. There is no pretense that learning is a game. The children are taught that it is work, and consistent with the Amish culture, work is something that must be done whether or not one likes it, whether or not it is convenient. But the prevailing attitude is that we are fortunate to be able to work and that work is something people enjoy: "The spirit in happiness is not merely in doing what one likes to do, but to try to like what one has to do." (Appendix B, No. 45.)

Discussion is used very effectively in areas where it really applies. In many schools the children hlep to formulate the rules (the teacher always has veto power) and there is open and honest discussion about these. (Appendix B, No. 40.) Sometimes in the public schools in an attempt to have a "democratic" classroom there may be a blurring of the lines of decision making—the teacher "helps" the children democratically reach the "correct" decision. (Jules Henry in Spindler 1963:230.) This is not practiced in Amish schools. If a decision is to be made by the teacher (or the school board, or the parents) the decision is made without discussion with the children and they are told what is acceptable. However, when the children are invited to participate in a decision their opinions are respected and they are actually allowed to reach their own decision.

Because Amish schools are homogeneous and there is a great emphasis on sensitivity to the group and on the individual working for the good of the group, this is an effective procedure and is good preparation for future participation in church decisions. The larger boundaries are set by the teacher—as representative of the community; within these boundaries the children are given freedom of choice, and so it will be for the adult church member.

"How long would you enjoy school without any rules?" the teacher asks his pupils. (Appendix B, No. 46.) And when the children formulated rules for their school under the list of "What a Teacher Should Do" was "Have rules." (Appendix B, No. 40.) Rules are essential to an orderly classroom and an orderly classroom is believed to be essential for learning. Jules Henry states of the American public schools that there is "a modern trend to make school the habitat of impulse release and fun." (Henry 1963:321.) In contrast, the Amish are impulse control within the classroom rather than structuring impulse release. "Better he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city" the Amish children are taught. (Appendix B, No. 46.)

Control is relaxed during recess and the noon hour when the children play vigorously, freely and noisily. "Play at recess and noon opens our mind for study." (Ibid.) There are relatively few rules at most schools. (The number listed in Appendix B, No. 40 is about the average number.) The belief is that there should be few rules but those should be carefully enforced. "Never make any rules or regulations that you are not prepared to enforce." (Appendix B, No. 39.)

The Amish stress humility, the elimination of self-pride, mutual encouragement, persistence, the willingness to attempt a difficult task and love for one another. A perusal of mottos found on schoolroom walls, of verses memorized, of teacher's sayings (see Appendix B, No. 45, 46) will illustrate the consistency of these teachings. For the Amish, education is primarily social rather than individual. Its goal is not "the freedom which exalts the individual" (Educational Policies Commission 1962:3) but social cohesion. Teaching the children to get along together in work and play is as important as teaching the academic subjects—both are essential for the continued existence of the Amish community.

Specific teaching technique and "hints" are mentioned in numerous teachers' letters and articles in the *Blackboard Bulletin*. The book *School Bells Ringing* (Teachers'

Manual) of Uria Byler goes into methods for teaching every subject from phonics to health and also gives suggestions on such things as games, keeping the school house clean and how to deal with "newspaper pests." The number of pupils per teacher ranges from 13 to 47 with the average number being 27 and each teacher has two nine grades. This keeps the teachers very busy. They have worked out a variety of ways for the children to help teach. In some schools the children exchange papers for checking. In other schools the older children help to check the papers of the younger children. (Sarah Beiler, BB 1/68:145-146.) One teacher has the rule that grades fifth through eighth may not read library books until the arithmetic papers for the lower grades have been corrected and the third and fourth grades may not have library books until the first and second grade arithmetic papers and other workbooks have been corrected. This not only reinforces the children's learning by having them go over earlier material, but it also encourage concern and care for the younger children and helping the teacher in specified ways is consistent with the Amish concept of "sharing one another's burdens." However, the teacher must administer the program in such a way that she is not seen by the parents as shirking her leadership responsibility. In other schools certain of the oldest children may help with reading words during certain period or give flash cards to the younger children and listen to them read. Some teachers have a paid helper who "answers hands." These are often girls who are recent graduates.

One Amish teacher worked out an unusual system of having the children recite for one another. She would have as many as five groups of children reciting at one time. Each group had a "chairman" who served for the week. The chairmanship rotated. He listened to the recitation, read the answers to the written work, and led the checking of papers. The chairman then recorded the grades, which he gave to the teacher and made the assignment for the next day. If there was a disagreement over the length of the assignment the class voted and majority ruled. If the chairman was absent, the chairman from the previous week took over. Once each week the teacher gave each class a test and she marked and recorded these tests. There was complete order in the classroom at all times. The children worked in small clusters such as at [illegible] blackboard, around the recitation table, around the teacher's desk, at the recitation bench. When a class was finished the children went back to their seats. Study in their seats alternated with recitation. It was remarkable how smoothly the system worked and how much material the children covered. For with this method their recitation periods averaged a little more than twice as long as they were under the regular system. There was of course a background of noise, from the reciting classes and physical movement as the children in four classes went from their desks to the places of recitation. I observed the school by myself and also visited it with other Amish teachers and school board members. In spite of the obvious learning that was taking place, the general response of Amish visitors was that there was too much noise and confusion. The most appreciated school that visited that day was the quietest, with the teacher speaking in an easily-understood, but very low voice. When the self-recitation method of teaching was brought up at the local teachers meeting the other teachers did not criticize it but said simply, "It would never work for me." The next year the school board gave the teacher a helper to hear recitations. This method of handling 43 pupils in eight grades appeared successful academically, but gave the students too much authority and was not consistent with the Amish concept of what a school should be like. After trying it, in a modified form, the second year the teacher was not asked back.

A former teacher writing in the *Blackboard Bulletin* about his experiences tried using a monitor system to have the children help with rule enforcement. The beginning of the third week it was in effect, the school board brought in the first complaints from the parents. At the end of the month he dropped the monitor program:

"I could see the weakness of such a plan. Discipline, after all, was the teacher's responsibility. The pupils were to be encouraged to cooperate and do their part, but to place the schoolroom on a democratic basis was in the long run a rather dangerous experiment." (BB 1/69:133.)

In the teacher's absence children may take over his role of disciplining or of teaching (when teachers are ocassionally late to class the children begin on time with one of the older ones taking charge). But when the teacher is present it is his responsibility.

Some Amish teachers are very resourceful in maintaining their pupils' interest and in creating a pleasant school. The children and the teachers make school decorations. Instead of buying "glitter" they may wash, dry and crush eggshells which they then glue onto black paper to make mottos. During the winter they make their own games. One class made "Farmopoly," a board game based on Monopoly but with dairy farms and harness shops instead of Boardwalk and public utilities. Sometimes a school will have a book making project. The children will each write an original story and then copy it into a book of any size or description that they have made. Some of the stories are illustrated. The excitement comes when everyone's book has been turned in and the stories are read aloud (without author's names) to the class. (BB 12/68:96-97.)

Speed is not stressed in Amish schools. Children are admonished to do careful, accurate work. It is considered better to do what one does well, than to get a lot done but to make careless mistakes. Children are also taught not to skip material they do not understand but to work at it until they have it mastered. Their report period tests are always given without time limits for they do not want the children to hurry. This training placed these children at a disadvantage when we gave them standardized tests (both IQ and achievement). Later, we checked the reading tests given in one of the schools and noted that the children did well in the part that they finished, but, especially in the upper grades, most of the children who had never before had timed tests did not complete the test. These Amish children, unlike many suburban children, but like many ghetto children, had not been coached in taking standardized test (Kohl 1967:176-179.) These tests had been worked out by people with a very different philosophy of education and very different ideas of what is general information for young children than those who had reared and taught the Amish children. Instead of learning to work quickly, guess intelligently and skip those questions you do not understand, the Amish children are taught; "Do not rush over your work in school or at home." "Take your time when making important decisions." "People who are always in a hurry, seemingly, get very little satisfaction out of life." "Look up into the branches of the trees, knowing that they grew great and strong because they grew slowly and well." (Appendix B, No. 46.) The Amish children are cautioned not to be like "the world," but to "be contented, and do not worry or try to follow up the world's uneasiness and speed." (Ibid.)

A selected group of experienced Amish teachers from three states with the largest Amish population were asked "What, in your opinion, constitutes good control in the school room?" One teacher from Pennsylvania answered, "Good control is wearing a smile, regardless of how you feel inside. Be firm. Have a strong backbone, but not too stiff that it doesn't want to bend when necessary. A teacher should be humble." Another, from Ohio, mentioned, "Be firm, not stern . . . have respect for the pupils, be honest with yourself and admit your mistakes if in the wrong. Be cheerful and slow to anger." Others mentioned trusting the children, not having too many rules and being careful that no one, including the teacher, broke them.

This same group of teachers was asked about the methods of discipline they used. The most common form was speaking to the offending child, and speaking in private to the child. Some teachers have the children apologize but mentioned that "a false or forced apology is worse than none." A common punishment for a fairly serious offense is having to stay in their seats during recess or the noon hour. Sometime in addition they have to "write sentences" during this period. Finally there is corporal punishment, either a strap across the palm or paddling. Some teachers never use it, those who do state that it should be used very infrequently and with love. (Appendix B, No. 26, 30.) One teacher observed that it is "Very effective but should be used with caution and plenty of love. I use it only for lying-cheating-vulgar language or smutty talk, which is rare." Another teacher said, "We teachers should always see to it that punishing is done out of love. If it isnt't I believe it causes more harm than good, only causing rebellion on the part of the child." Physical punishment is used for the transactions mentioned above, for open disobedience and for activity that physically endangers such as children running into the highway, or teasing a nervous buggy horse. Parents approve of limited use of physical punishment for their children's moral and physical safety, but they do not approve of it as a substitute for respect, or as a means of frightening children into obedience. The occasional teacher who resorts to these methods soon finds himself looking for a different kind of job.

"Always use the mildest punishment that will do the work . . . Corporal punishment is easily overdone. Save it for the few worst offenses, and it will be effective. If you use it frequently, it is useless . . .

"Above all, make sure they understand you. And love them! Even when they are naughty, they need to know you love them." (Amos E. Stolzfus, BB 2/68:169.)

Most teachers and parents feel that obedience follows respect and respect is based on love. ("Love Never Faileth," BB 10/69:57-58.) Joseph Stoll reminds the Amish teachers that "no punishment, be it word or by whip, is justifiable except it be motivated by love and concern for the child's well-being." (Joseph Stoll, BB 11/1961.)

Teachers use encouragement and rewards to a much greater degree than punishment. The children are given stars, stickers, even pencils and candy bars for good behavior, good grades and abiding by the rules. Not all teachers, however, approve of this. Jonas Nisley writes:

"In my humble opinion, it works better to reward or treat the children unexpectedly, whether at home or at school, for their efforts and good work, *after* the task is done, rather than to promise rewards if they do this or that thing according to our wishes." (BB 4/65:130.)

Another teacher says she always has a treat for her pupils at the end of the six-week-test day, not just for those who received 100% but for each child who did his best. "Needless to say, no one admits not having done his best." So each one gets a candy bar, a pack of lifesavers or some popcorn. (Elizabeth Miller, BB 65:182-183.)

Amish teachers never belittle their pupils or use sarcasm or ridicule as a means for controlling their students. They do try to make the children understand their transgressions and to accept punishment willingly—because it is deserved. (See"A Former Pupil," BB 2/63; "Crisis in the Classroom," BB 12/68:111.) The teachers try to teach the pupils the importances of confessing mistakes and asking for forgiveness. (Lizzie Ann Nisley, BB 12/61; "A Board Member," BB 5/62.) One teacher writes on the value of an open confession. One of the boys arrived at school and asked to speak to the teacher privately.

"Whereupon the boy made a confession with tear-filled eyes of things that had happened. I said, 'God shall bless you for being so honest, as you confessed more than I would have asked from you.'

"He said, 'Yes, I confessed it all.' He could not hold back the tears. Do you think the teacher could in such a case?" (Mary Ann Beacy, BB 4/62:n.p.). Amish teachers feel emotionally very close to their pupils and the children in turn admire and want to please their teachers.

The Amish teachers are as much concerned with the development of a Christian character as with the teaching of facts. They are more concerned with giving their students the "correct knowledge" than teaching them critical thinking. The primary method used to instill correct knowledge is memorization and drill. Only within the framework of the material presented are the children taught to think for themselves. They are taught "what" and "where" but not "why" (except in the theistic terms) and usually not "how." In a secular school, with a scientific orientation, children's rational powers are trained to enable them to attempt to solve the "riddles of life, space and time." (Educational Policies Commission 1962:9.) In the Amish school these are not believed to be riddles that need to be solved by man. Truth does not have to be searched for, it has already been revealed (in the Bible) and it is there for those ready to believe. (Rob R. Schlabach, BB 10.67:71-72.) Because the Amish and the public school have two such different concepts of what truth is and how it is to be obtained, it is not surprising that their teaching methods are different: that the Amish stress "believing" while the public schools stress "questioning." In twentieth century America there should not only be room for both approaches, there is need for both. Even the most rational questioner needs a basis in belief (though not necessarily in theological basis) from which to ask his questions and by which to judge his answers. And religious zeal needs the tempering of rational thought.

Vocational School Schedule, Curriculum and Methods

A description of a typical vocational class meeting one afternoon a week in Ohio will give the schedule and the curriculum. The teacher in this school is a minister and helps the Amish youth with their I-W (conscientious objector status) assignments. However, there is no discussion of conscientious objection in the vocational school. There are about thirty children between the ages of 14 and 16 in this school. (In Pennsylvania the children attend school only until their fifteenth birthday.) At 1:00 the teacher rings the bell and they sing, in unison two or three songs: some in German, some in English. Then they stand and recite the Lord's prayer in German. After this they copy their diaries which they have been working on at home during the week, into their composition books, which are kept by the teacher. While this is being done the teacher makes the attendance report. The ninth grade has arithmetic while the tenth grade works on English. In English they learn such things as how to write a business letter. The class changes places and the tenth grade recites arithmetic while the ninth grade works on English. The students use *Arithmetic in Agriculture* as their text. When the girls complained that too many of the problems had to do with planning fields and filling silos instead of figuring yard goods and modifying receipts the teacher told them, "Some of you may marry men who are not so good with figures and you'll need to know how to help along with the figuring." The children then have spelling. They have a test on the words they were given the week before to learn. This particular school uses *The New Stanford Speller: A Pupil-Activity Textbook* (which is also used in Indiana). Some teachers do all the grading, some allow the pupils to exchange papers for grading. Spelling grades are recorded each week. If there is time, the students may have a spelling bee in English. During the half-hour recess they play baseball if the weather is good, otherwise they run around or just talk. After recess the students read aloud in sequence from the German Testament. Because this teacher is a minister there is occasionally some discussion. However, in most schools the New Testament is read without comment. This school is also somewhat unusual in that the pupils are given a sheet of paper each week with Bible questions on it which they take home and fill out. They correct the answers during class. Once a month they have a test on these questions. Occasionally, they have a German spelling bee. The afternoon closes with the singing of three songs, both German and English. These are chosen by the children. For example, the boy who has chosen and lead a song must then choose a girl to do likewise and she in turn then chooses a boy. The songs chosen and the leading is done by the children. However, the teacher also chooses and teaches songs—especially those at the beginning of the class. One girl in Pennsylvania wrote:

"I am not sorry for all the German songs and verses I learned in vocational school . . . As I go about my work I can sing many songs that I learned in school. It is a pastime to sing while you work and it makes work seem like play if you can sing anytime without using a book, even just to have songs in your thoughts." (Salome Stultzfus, BB 1/68:140.) This school was dismissed at 4:00. Usually the class meets from 12:00 to 3:00, 1:00 to 4:00 or 9:00 to 12:00. Most of the schools teach some German spelling and a few even teach the Gothic script. Most require some memorization of German Bible verses. In Pennsylvania, they also teach health and social studies (Appendix B, No. 53). (Mrs. Mose S. Byler, BB 1/58:4); in Indiana, history and general business (*General Business with Applied Arithmetic:* South-Western Publishing Co.) is a frequently used textbook.

Teaching methods in the vocational schools vary with the age and background of the teacher. When the vocational school is taught by an elementary school teacher, she generally uses the same methods she uses with the younger children including prizes such as candy bars or a quarter for correct memorization. The men rarely give rewards for good grades or extra memorization. In one Ohio school the pupils each have their own notebook. Every week they trade books and write a memorized German Bible verse into a friend's book, sign the verse and read it aloud. "By the end of the term, we have all written in each other's notebooks a number of times. This is something to keep and read, and also to compare writing." (Eli J. Byler, BB 2/68:175.) Methods that help increase social cohesion are the most often used and the most effective. Vocational school pupils generally enjoy their classes.

The major portion of the curriculum is the "home projects in agriculture and homemaking." (Appendix B, No. 23, 25.) A week's excerpt from the diary of a boy and a girl in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, will give a feeling of the many skills these fourteen-year-olds are mastering.

From Chester's Diary

Mon.	Checked the meadow fence for [electrical] shorts. Shovel-harrowed garden and concreted chicken house.
Tues.	Chopped wood and cleaned boards.
Wed.	Made a new door for the cowstable in the afternoon.
Thurs.	Went to school in the forenoon. Filled silo in the afternoon.
Fri.	Filled silo in forenoon. Watched cows in the afternoon.
Sat.	Washing cow stable in forenoon. Fixing an engine on the corn sheller and shelling corn in P.M.
Sun.	Stayed at home. Had company afternoon.

From Rebecca's Diary

Mon.	I helped with the Mon. work [washing and ironing] and daily chores.
Tues.	I was mending in the A.M. and unloading wood in the P.M. and culling chickens in the eve.
Wed.	Sewed in the A.M., washed eggs in the P.M.
Thurs.	Was at school in the A.M. and sewed in the P.M.
Fri.	I helped butcher a hog.
Sat.	I took down tobacco most of the day, and cleaned the upstairs.

On different days, Chester describes fixing various engines and machines that breakdown, digging up and cleaning piping, rebuilding a kitchen, rebuilding the chcken house, cementing and building a cow pen, butchering meat, plowing, discing, harrowing and rolling the various fields, cleaning the barn, hauling manure, helping with the washing and innumerable other tasks essential to successful farm management. Rebecca describes mowing and trimming the yard, picking up potatoes, working in the garden, husking corn, taking care of neighbors' children, raking the barnyard, refinishing furniture, baking, canning pears and apple sauce, helping the men cement the cowstables, painting the kitchen, crocheting and stripping tobacco. She is learning the various tasks useful to a farmer's wife. Not only do the children learn how to do the actual tasks required, but they also learn how to help with one another's work. Thus, although most jobs are executed primarily by men or by women, when there is extra work they help one another. Thus, Rebecca helped "the men" with the cementing and Chester helped "mom" with the washing. The children also learn the pattern of activity. "I helped with the Monday work. I did the Friday work in the morning. I finished the Saturday work." They learn to help the neighbors and the extended family. "Today I was taking care of Amos King's, Jacob Fisher's, and Jothan Stolzfus' children." "Did neighbor's work . . . Worked for Grandfather . . . Hauled church benches." They are learning not only how to do the necessary work but also when to do it, how to incorporate with other activity, and how work functions both within their family and within the wider community. They learn to enjoy the work and to see it as creative, both in terms of the immediate results and its contribution to the comfort and happiness of others. (This is in striking contrast to the attitude towards manual work that is taught in Home Economics courses in public high schools that "in itself, it [work] contains no good." (Dorothy Lee, in Spindler 1963:183.) Manual work in American high schools is associated with "efficiency" but not with "satisfaction." (Ibid.:185.)

Most of the Amish communities base their vocational schools on the Pennsylvania plan. The Indiana agreement (Appendix B, No. 25) is more limited in its description of the vocational project for the officials in the department of education were apparently thinking in terms of 4H projects rather than learning a life vocation. One of the Amish signees pointed out:

"Here is where I feel he [the state superintendent of education] does not understand our faith, . . . In our vocational set-up he requires a project similar to 4-H project . . . What we want is that the children can help along with the necessary work, and thereby are learning their life vocation by doing. But to the public this looks too much as if we want them at home to help do our work, which we cannot deny in many cases; for this all fits in with our way of life and our faith. They are helping do the family work, under the care and discipline of the parents, and are learning something more useful than all-day book learning." (John M. Bontrager, BB 10/67:62.) The problem seemed to be one of figuring out a way to write up the work they do at home in "project" form; that is, selecting one topic and describing it rather than listing the variety of work done in the course of a week. One Indiana vocational school teacher explained how it might be done:

"The parent should have the pupil explain briefly, yet plainly, on his report to show that he or she understands why the work is being done.

"For instance, instead of merely saying, 'I plowed today,' you might put in something like this: 'I plowed for wheat ground. The object of doing a good job of plowing is to break the ground and let air into the soil and to cover the trash.' The next day you might say, 'I cultipacked the field to conserve the moisture, to level it, and let more air into the soil.' You might add, 'The air is four-fifths nitrogen, which is a valuable fertilizer.'

"There is a purpose for doing things . . ." (Eli Gingerich, BB 11/67:104.)

He goes on to mention a goal the Amish are realizing with this specialized education: "It is an art . . . learning to be happy and useful by using the mind and hands together." (Gingerich, Ibid.) This is an art many other schools are now trying, too often vainly, to teach to their students.

THE AMISH SCHOOL WITHIN THE AMISH COMMUNITY

The Amish Teacher

Today in many suburban schools by the time thirty children have reached fifth grade there are facts and even areas of knowledge about which the children know more than the teacher who must teach all subjects. With the prevelance of television, the ease of travel and the availability of books, children have their curiosity aroused and many are able to follow up their interests, at least in limited areas, to a remarkable degree. The American school system emphasizes the development of the students' rational powers.

The amount of factual material that children are taught is steadily increasing as the total amount of knowledge increases and as society becomes more complex and different cultures have more interaction. For these reasons, it is essential that public school teachers be well trained.

When the public school teacher is outside the classroom he often disappears from the life of his pupils. They do not know how he spends his time, what he does, how he lives or what he believes about religion or politics—and these areas may, in fact, have surprisingly little influence on the subject matter he teaches the children. The public school teacher should be competent in his subject and able in his teaching methods, for, at least superficially, he is hired to teach technology rather than wisdom. Most communities do not want him to teach attitudes, or beliefs (other than belief in the scientific method and our form of government). They want him to stick to his subject—teach the children the material, but not how (in a moral sense) the material should be used. The teacher is an authority on subject matter; his authority comes from his training, and most of that comes from books. The printed work or rather the most recently printed work is the final authority in most classrooms.

The Amish, who have successfully kept radio, television and the movies outside their experience, have been virtually unaffected by Marshall's McLuhan's (1962) revolution, "the medium is the message." They also have limited the printed word, accepting the Bible, but rejecting most of the material that flows from the world's printing presses. In their attempt to recreate the primitive Christian church, they have also returned to (or maintained) the oral tradition. By its very nature the oral tradition is social, it is tied to the community. Unlike the written work, where teacher and pupil need never meet, the oral tradition requires personal interaction. Teaching within this tradition is by example as well as by word. Littel (in Erickson 1969:76) describes it both in antiquity and in sectarian Protestantism:

> "From the lips of a credible witness, and by the example of his life, the ultimate meanings could be learned —whether such witness had perished as a martyr in earlier years, leaving behind his prayers and sermons and letters, or taught the young as one among the living. For the wise, the truest accreditation of culture and education comes not from a skilled mechanic of learning methods but from a cultured and educated man. In sectarian Protestant belief, such a man is a Christian. The meaning of life, according

to Menno Simons, a representative witness, is summed up in this: to be a faithful Christian. 'Now this wisdom which effects such power and yields such fruits I consider to be the very finest that can be named, even if it is taught and recovered by an ignorant teamster or hod carrier . . . I have preferred to be the fool of the world's learned men, in order that I might be found of God to be wise.'"

In keeping with the oral tradition, the Amish teacher must teach with his whole life. He should be a person integrated within himself and integrated with the community. For every aspect of his behavior and of his personality is related to his teaching. He must be well-grounded in his religious faith and completely committed to the Amish way of life, accepting the limits set by the *Ordnung* and exemplifying the Amish traits of humility, obedience, steadfastness and love for his fellow man. In addition, he must be interested in education and have sufficient factual knowledge that there is a substantial margin between him and his students. In other words, the teachers should be "capable and sound of character." (Appendix B, No. 31, 32.) Is it any wonder that the Amish complain of a teacher shortage? (Appendix B, No. 42.)

An elderly teacher explain the Amish attitude toward qualification and certification:

"It is essential that we have qualified teachers. By that I do not mean certified ones, for state-certified teachers do not qualify to teach our schools." (Eli E. Weaver, 2/67:152.) They are not qualified because their rational thinking outside the closely knit Christian community has removed them too far from the oral tradition and in most instances has made them unsuitable as examples and credible witnesses. Because the Amish teachers' role is primarily that of Christian example rather than authority in subject matter, or methodology, there is little danger of their presenting themselves to the children as "gods, all-knowing, all-powerful, always rational, always just, always right." (Holt 64:171.) Instead they freely admit their human weaknesses and the need to turn to "the Master Teacher" for help and guidance. (Joseph Stoll, BB 5/65: 159-160.)

The Amish place such a great importance on teaching that it is beginning to be thought of as a calling rather than a job. Their ministers are called; that is, they do not themselves choose to be ministers, but are chosen by the congregation of God (through the working of the lot). An Amishman usually does not apply for his first teaching job, rather he is selected by the school board. One teacher in a new settlement in Pennsylvania described how it happened to him. On September 6th his wife and daughter went to the newly built school house to help with the finishing touches. When his wife came home, she told him he was going to teach school. That evening the school board came to ask him formally. By September 8th he was teaching. Incidently, he was "an uncle of most of the children, a grandfather to some and father to one, but when we are in school we are all one 'Freundschaft'" (John F. Esh, BB 3/66:144). Most teachers are not given so little notice. One girl said they had "been after" her for about six years before she decided she was ready to teach. When she did decide she spent several weeks with various good teachers in the area observing and helping for a week in each school. If the teacher is younger than twenty-one, the father is asked rather than asking the girl or boy directly. Until an Amishman is twenty-one he is under the care of his father socially and financially. One young teacher who had enjoyed her year of teaching told me she was trying to persuade her father to let her teach next year, "but I can bring so much more money home if I clean house and babyset and we don't have much money, that maybe I'll have to do that instead." In such a case the school board may try to remind the father how important it is to have good teachers in the Amish school. Teachers who have taught successfully are believed to have demonstrated that they have a calling and if they wish to change jobs they can apply to another school. However, the teachers' grapevine is so effective that the information is usually passed around informally, enabling the school board to make the initial move. A good teacher may receive as many as six or seven requests, even though she has not indicated an interest in changing schools. These requests are written in such a way that they are very difficult to turn down. The relationship both by letter and when the school board calls is a very personal one and does not in anyway resemble a business agreement.

Of course, Amish teachers do not have contracts, nor do they have tenure. Life is uncertain and no one knows when it will change. Perhaps the teacher will be needed somewhere else. For instance, if her parents fall sick, she may have to stop teaching to care for them; a young man who has been teaching may have to stop to take over his father's farm. The same thing is true if the teachers turn out to be unsuccessful. He or she is asked to leave. This is considered unfortunate, for it is hard on the children, but if a teacher cannot handle the work, it is obvious that God did not intend for him to teach and it is better for everyone that he be doing something else.

Amish teachers are not motivated to teach by monetary returns. Most teachers can earn more money in other types of work and they certainly do not have to work such long hours (including paper checking and class preparation) in most other jobs. (Isaac R. Hurst, BB 67:123.) An Amishman who teaches does so because for one reason or another, he wants to teach. (Appendix B, No. 42.) Largely because wages are low there are relatively few men teachers (not including the vocational schools). Of the three states with the largest Amish population, Pennsylvania had 68 schools and only one man teaching in 1968-69, Indiana had 69 schools with 16 men teaching and Ohio had 89 schools with 23 men teaching. (Data computed from BB 11/68:78-83.) Most of these are either young men who have just completed their I-W service or do not yet have a family, or they are older men whose family is grown. A few men are able to teach and manage a farm too, but this is very difficult. In some cases men are paid more than women. (Levi J. Lambright, BB 9/64:18.) At this Indiana school the boy was paid almost as much to teach the whole school as the school board would have paid two girls to teach the same school. However, there is a great discrepancy in wages from one community to another, and even within one state the different communities have different wage scales and different attitudes towards such things as paying a teacher on time. At the annual directors meeting in Pennsylvania (1969) it was voted to raise the teachers pay by $1.00 per day in all brackets. This made the top pay $10.00 per day including lodging and transportation. Teachers are paid only for the actual number of days taught (180 days in Pennsylvania) and if they have a substitute the teacher pays them. This is probably one reason there are so few men teaching in Pennsylvania. In 1966, an Amishman mad a survey of the parochial schools in Indiana. (David Yoder, 1966.) At that time there were still some non-Amish teachers in the parochial schools (two of them had had five years of college). He did not break down the wages according to church membership but we suspect that the highest paid teachers were the more highly education non-Amish. He found that the pay ranged from $3.50 per day to $18.50 per day. We do not personally know of any Amish teacher who is paid $18.50 per day. The most highly paid Amish teacher we know receives $14.50 per day in addition to board and room during the school week. This was unusually high. Experienced teachers are more likely to be paid between seventy and one hundred and twenty dollars a month for the eight months that they teach. In addition, they may receive free room. Most of the teachers prefer to cook for themselves. Often the parents will give food to the teachers. One mother always baked the teacher a little loaf when she did the family baking. Other families may send along a little meat when they butcher or a couple jars of vegetables when they can. When rooming with a family, teachers can usually manage on these low wages. However, those who have bought a small piece of land and built a little house and a barn for their buggy horse often find that things are quite tight financially.

Teacher-Scholar Relationships

The relationship between the Amish teachers and the pupils is one of identification with their tension. It is more similar to that of the American frontier than to the relationship found in European schools at the time of their origin when it was taken for granted "that between teacher and pupil there exists a permanent state of war, ordained by the nature of things." (Thompson 1958:31.) The Amish teacher is the recognized leader of the classroom and the one who is in charge and responsible. As would be expected, the Amish children identify closely with their teacher. Many of the "Teacher's Sayings" (Appendix B, No. 46) group the teacher with the pupils. "As the bird's song is refreshing every morning, so *we* should refresh each other with friendliness." "Do *we* wonder at times what use *our* little life may be? Well, all that is asked from *us* is to fill *our* little place in this world as best *we* can. This could be a place important or one that is unimportant in the eyes of men." Many of the teachers enjoy playing with the children, during recess and the noon hour, as much as the children enjoy having them play. The school has an atmosphere of well-ordered family, with the teachers representing a parent or an older sibling. The pupils and teacher call one another by their first names as is done throughout the Amish communities, where even the youngest children call the oldest woman, the ministers and the bishops by their first name. Respect is not based on titles.

The teacher achieves respect in much the same way the ministers do; by being "fair, stern and loving." (Rebecca K. Stoltzfus, BB 67:134.) The ideal Amish teachers and ministers have some traits similar to those attributed to Rollo May by his grateful patients who say of him, "There was this tremendous sterness, yet a tremendous gentleness." (T. George Harris, *Psychology Today* August 1969:14.) They can be both stern and loving because they know there is both evil and good and they are confident in their ability to distinguish between the two.

The teachers often plan surprises for their pupils, a picnic in the woods, a special trip. They may even plan a trip for them during the summer. Sometimes a teacher will invite the children to her house for dinner (which is the noon meal). The children in turn have surprises for the teacher. This is especially true for the teacher's birthday when the children may hide a cake and lunch to surprise their teacher with during the noon hour or after school. (Jonas Nisley, 5/65:156; Mrs. Joe J. Miller, BB 1/67:133.) Often the teacher is a relative of many of the children and very likely attends the same church so that the children know their teacher in many roles; they know the teacher as a person in the community as well as a teacher in the classroom.

Teacher-Parent Relationships

There is some tension between the parents and the teacher. Teaching is a new role and the Amish believe very firmly that the training and conversion of the children is the responsibility of the parents—not of the school (even an Amish school). The school only teaches him, and to that extent the school is an extension of the parents, who have trained him well enough to make him receptive to the teaching he will receive in school. (Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Troyer, BB 9/64:27.) Teachers are very sensitive to parental criticism and in need of their support. Because the teachers must be examples to the children as well as the dispensers of information, they are especially vulnerable, for a teacher can be criticized not only for what or how she teaches, but how she dresses and spends her free time. The basis of classromm discipline is respect of the children for the teacher and the teacher's respect for each child and each family. If the parents do not respect the teacher, the children feel this and the teacher soon has serious discipline problems. Sometimes if the teacher and some of the children belong to different church affiliations there may be misunderstandings about such things as school decorations or which hymns are sung. However, these troubles are the exception rather than the rule.

Generally, the parents are pleased to have an Amish teacher in their school and anxious to do everything they can to help her. The parents express their affection for the teacher in many ways. They bring her small gifts of food, invite her to supper and to spend the night, and they may organize a birthday surprise for her. Sometimes the parents will get together and make a friendship quilt for her—perhaps with each child's signature embroidered in the center of each square. In some of the schools in Indiana the parents take turns bringing in a hot lunch for the teacher and children—once a month during the winter. (Mrs. Clemence J. Miller, BB 5/69:217; Mrs. Enos S. Troyer, 5/69:218.) Some teachers try to spend at least one night each term in the home of every family in the school.

The children, under the teacher's direction, put on Thanksgiving and Christmas programs for the parents and have them for a picnic at the end of the term. The programs vary considerably from one community to another. In Pennsylvania they put on small skits—this would be frowned on in other regions where they sing religious songs and recite memory work. These programs provide a great deal of pleasure for the students, the parents and the teachers. The children are beside themselves with excitement and delight as they enjoy each other's performance. As one teacher said of their Thanksgiving program, "It was a heaping success."

Because the schools are an extension of the home and in effect derive their authority from the parents (as representatives of the church) some feel that the parents should reinforce school discipline to the extent of repeating it at home. One young teacher wrote:

"If a child gets punished at school, should he be punished at home, too? I believe he should be punished at home, too. The reason, if the child is not punished, he may think the parents don't care. Then he will make more trouble for the teacher." (Ivan N. Coblentz, BB 2/69: 147.)

Another teacher wrote:

"The one family always made their children, when their names were on the blackboard, write one hundred times that they wouldn't do that bit of mischief anymore. As there are seven children in school from that family there was no chance of their slipping by without the parents finding it out . . . Teachers appreciate it when parents cooperate like that." (Mrs. Alfred D. Troyer, BB 8/68:22.) More often the teacher wants the support of the parents rather than literal reinforcement. A teacher writing about "Crisis in the Classroom," (BB 12/68:111-116) reported:

"I was ready to turn the battle over to her parents. And I will never stop being grateful to them for their understanding and support at the time I needed it so much." Teachers constantly ask parents not to discuss them in front of the school children and if there are questions and misunderstandings to come directly to the teacher to talk about it. (Anna Mae Gingerich, BB 2/67:152.)

In almost every issue of the *Blackboard Bulletin* there are requests for parents to please visit school. Most schools make the request and then leave it up to the parents discretion when they should come. However, they are very persuasive with reason. Parents are reminded that they don't put their steers out to pasture and never bother to check up on them—and certainly their children are more valuable than cattle. They are asked why not give the teacher a gift of a visit? It's worth a great deal to her. Different schools have worked out various methods to get the parents to visit school regularly. In one school the parents drew dates out of a hat and then visited during their assigned week. In another school the parents decided to visit in order of the age of the father with one couple coming each week. A teacher in Pennsylvania listed some of the advantages of parents visiting school and the disadvantages of their not visiting. Here are the advantages of regular parental visits.

1. Teacher gets an opportunity to visit with the parents.
2. Children get the feeling they [the parents] are a part of the school. It makes them feel important; they are being looked after.
3. The students have brushed up considerably in their lessons. They aren't going to be caught standing in class looking like a dumbbell.
4. Respect in many ways has greatly improved.
5. Teacher has the privilege to discuss discipline problems, if there are any, with the parents.

Here are the disadvantages if parents do not visit school.

1. Teacher has no fellowship with parents.
2. Children become careless; after all, no one is coming in to check on them, except the teacher.
3. Children become rude.
4. Teacher has to work doubly hard to keep everyone happy and friendly.
5. Parents cannot understand John's low report card marks.
6. Discipline problems are hard to overcome.

Many teachers feel that parental visits support the teachers authority and make her job easier and more pleasant.

Parents come to the school, when it is not in session, to participate in frolics and work bees, to get the school and yard ready for the new term, to cut and stack wood, to repaint the woodwork or refinish the desks.

Many schools have board-parents-teachers meetings every month. (Amanda N. Hershberger, BB 4/65:134-135.) They strive for one hundred percent attendance, but this is of course not possible. Teachers rely on these meetings. If there are any problems they can be brought up then to get some idea of community concensus on what should be done, and if there are no problems, they still serve a function.

These are evenings the teachers look forward to and delight in. As Jonas Nisley says, the fathers trudging through the snow carrying their lanterns "shows interest." And an evening together discussing farm sales, wood cutting, manure hauling, and school work is helping to lay a foundation for the future generation." (BB 5/65:156.) The parents, teacher and community (represented by the school board) are all working together for the common good of one another's children and the future of the church.

Teacher-School Board Relationships

The teachers look to their school boards for guidance, support and direction. The school board acts as a buffer between the teacher and the parents, the teacher and the wider community when such a buffer is needed. Most of the teachers I know (especially the women) say that they take all their problems to the school board. And according to my observation they did, whether the problem was large or small, involved the whole school or a personal concern. A teacher writes of her school board:

"My board is a great help by seeing that there are plenty of supplies, books, workbooks, especially for the lower grades, paper, pencils, etc. as needed. Last but not least important is their visiting the school frequently. It is encouraging when I meet the board members and they have smiles on their faces. I realize their job is not always the most pleasant, for they have the task of trying to satisfy the [Amish] taxpayers, parents, teachers and probably their wives and themselves." (Rachel Petersheim, 2/67:160.) Any problems on non-cooperation on the part of parents or children are taken to the board. Often if a teacher feels she needs to visit a child's home she asks a board member to go with her, or she may explain the problem to the board and they go in her stead. A few teachers say that if they feel physical punishment is required that they will let the school board administer it. Good school board members consider their teacher's happiness. They stop on the way to town to inquire if she needs anything, they often have her to dinner and to spend the night, they may take her to church with them. Members of the school board often function as "family" for women or single men who are teaching outside their home church district. As is characteristic of the Amish culture, the relationship between the school board members and the school teacher is a personal one.

The school board hires and fires the teacher; woos her and accepts her resignation. Many teachers seem to feel that it is not good to teach too long in the same school and some parents believe that it is better if the children have more than one teacher during their years of schooling. Two teachers write of their pleasure that though this is their fourth year of teaching in the same school, they are "treated as though it were their first," implying that the school board and parents are anxious to have them stay. (Amanda A. Nisley, BB 1/69:127.) Another teacher writes about the problems when a school board says nothing to a teacher about whether or not they want her back in the fall. (It is not the teacher's position to broach the subject unless she plans to leave.) Experienced teachers recommend changing schools, at least for one year, if the teacher feels at all undecided about continuing. (Elizabeth Miller, BB 4/69:186-187.)

Uria R. Byler points out that it takes a lot of time and energy to be a good school board member and those who serve should be "pushers" always working to keep the school going, to improve it and being ready to help start a new school when needed. (BB 9/66:46-48.) School boards, in conjunction with parents, also make and implement such decisions as to build a house for the teachers (Jonas M. Schrock, BB 11/67:94) or to set up a trailer for her, or to build outside stairs at the home where she rooms so she can have her own entrance and not have to go through the family kitchen every time she leaves and enters. They are concerned with all aspects of running the school, and therefore, with their teacher's equipment, living arrangements and general contentment.

Teacher-Church Relationships

The teacher's relation to the church varies greatly from one school district to another. In some areas the school is directly under the supervision of a single church district and families belong to that single church, which, as a church rather than as a cluster of parents, supports the school. In other areas children from several different affiliations may attend the school and then the different churches may support the school through a single representative or the school board who is chosen from among the church members who have children attending that school. Each church may hold a financial share in the school and contribute to the teacher's salary, or the parents from the different affiliations may support the school with little help from the church. In that case, then they function as individuals rather than representatives of the church. The teacher attends church regularly, at the church of her own affiliation, but if she comes from a neighboring church district, she may return to her home over the weekend and attend her home church instead of the local services. In some schools the teacher occasionally attends church services of the different affiliations, especially when the service is being held at the home of one of her pupils.

The teacher's primary relationship to the church is that she must be in good standing with the church. (However, she does not have to be a member, for she may teach school before she is ready to join church.) The teacher must be acceptable to the church if the school comes under its jurisdiction, otherwise, she is responsible to the parents as a group, rather than to the church. In any event, her direct responsibility is to the school board and the organization of the school determines whether the school board represents the whole church or only the group of parents.

VII. TEST SCORES AND ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS

This chapter will present the findings with respect to the testing phase of the investigation. The findings for each of the tests will be reported in the sequence in which they are discussed under "Procedures" in chapter III.

Attitudes toward testing. Since we were working in a culture that was not accustomed to having its children tested by standardized tests, we believed that the attitudes toward testing, as well as the modifications that were necessary in the pilot phase of the investigation are an important aspect of the findings.

The cooperation of the public school system was obtained with little difficulty, for these pupils had been tested previously. We were aware that the pupils in the control group were accustomed to testing procedures and that the Amish pupils were not. Some of the schools we tested had never taken any standardized tests. They were not familiar with many of the type of questions, the response categories nor were they accustomed to answer sheets and time limitations.

Attitudes toward testing and drawing were far from being homogeneous in the Amish culture. A few schools cooperated in the testing but did not wish to have the children draw the human figure. The objection was part of the taboo against photographs and representation of the human figure. Attitudes varied also according to the experience of the teacher and the amount of teacher training. Most teachers in the private schools had no more formal training than eight grades. A few teachers had one or two years of high school correspondence and one had an M.A. degree. Generally the teachers who had long experience as teachers and who were secure in their role as teacher and in relation to their community showed the greatest interest in the tests. There are some teachers who feel that testing, even if done by sympathetic outsiders, will in the long run be harmful to the Amish.

The pretesting phase of the research aided us in discovering problems identifying items in the tests that were taboo, or concepts which had no relevance to the Amish child. The pretesting was done six months before any schools were tested. The SRA and Iowa tests proved to be long and strenuous but were enjoyed by some and challenged all the children. Goodenough-Harris test varied greatly and some students took as long as 40 minutes. The freehand drawings (house, animal or machine, my happy time) went over well with grades 1 through 5, but motivation was lacking among boys for the upper grades. The Myers-Briggs test tended to be long and boring for the children and was then confined to grades 7 and 8. Adaptations of several tabooed items were made. "Playing cards" was changed to "monopoly" (item 71) and "party" was changed to "gathering" (items 19 and 134). The self-concept test "How I Feel About Myself" was well received in some schools and not appreciated by others. Several items in the test were considered "improper" by Amish persons who advised us, and on their suggestion we eliminated them. Since Amish teachings specifically forbid self assertion or "pride" we agreed that the responses would have little validity. The Gorman Proverbs test did not elicit much enthusiasm and most children were unfamiliar with the alternative answers. Essays on the topic "What kind of work I want to do when I grow up, and why" was enjoyed and obtained with the least effort.

The pretesting showed us that the time it took to administer all the tests was too long. The total time for testing in a school was changed from two days to one day, and this was arranged at half day intervals. The intrusion of a testing program that was too strenuous showed on pupils and teachers alike. Students became restless but seldom showed any annoyance with what appeared to them as an endless succession of exercises without purpose. The oldest pupils who were about to leave school on their sixteenth birthday were not enthusiastic or highly motivated. The testing interrupted the continuity of the school program and we wished to minimize these inconveniences.

SRA Tests of Education Ability: The intelligence test was applied to the areas of language, reasoning, quantitative, and a composite score was computed for these three skills.

Table 2 shows that the Amish populations tended to score below the control group in language and reasoning. Their best showing is in quantitative where they exceeded the scores of the control group and of those in variable 4 (the non-Amish who attended the same public schools). The composite SRA IQ scores of the Amish were slightly higher than the non-Amish but below the achievement of the control group.

When all the Amish pupil scores were combined and compared with the non-Amish (Table 3) the Amish exceeded the non-Amish in reasoning and quantitative. Their language IQ scores were below the non-Amish. The composite IQ score of 96.7 was 2.8 points below the non-Amish.

Scores for grades 5-8 for Amish pupils in private schools are shown in Table 4. The composite score reveals little variation for the different grades. Language and reasoning tended to improve with each grade. In quantitative, however, the highest scores were made by grade five.

Table 2. Mean IQ of Control Group and Amish Populations for Grade 8, SRA Tests

Skills Tested	Control Group (N=27)	Population[†] 1 (N=28)	2 (N=61)	3 (N=26)	4 (N=34)
Language	102.1	90.3*	90.3*	93.8	97.3
Reasoning	108.8	103.1	102.2	105.2	97.3
Quantitative	104.8	105.8	103.0	98.2	92.8
Composite score	105.0	97.1	96.2	97.5	95.2

[†] Sample populations are described in text (pp.50-53). The control group consists of pupils in a rural consolidated public school in an agricultural area similar to that of the Amish. The populations are:

1. Amish in all-Amish public schools
2. Amish schools
3. Amish in public schools with non-Amish (mixed)
4. Non-Amish in public schools with Amish (mixed)

[*] Diferences were statistically significant for language between the control group and population 1 (P. 05) and between the control group and population 2 (P .05). (For analysis of variance see Appendix Tables A-1 to A-4.)

Table 3. Mean IQ of Combined Amish and Non-Amish for Grade 8, SRA Tests

Skills Tested	Mean Scores	
	Amish[†] (N=115)	Non-Amish[††] (N=61)
Language	91.1	99.4
Reasoning	103.1	102.4
Quantitative	102.6	98.1
Composite	96.7	99.5

[†] Includes populations 1,2,3, of Table 1.

[††] Includes control group and population 4 of Table 1.

Differences between means were not statistically significant. See Appendix, Tables A-5 to A-8.

Table 4. Mean IQ of Pupils in Amish Schools for Grades 5 to 8, SRA Tests

Skills Tested	Grade			
	5 (N=30)	6 (N=67)	7 (N=91)	8 N=61)
Language	86.7	86.8	89.2	90.3
Reasoning	96.4	97.5	100.3	102.2
Quantitative	110.0	104.2	101.2	103.0
Composite	96.7	94.7	94.4	96.2

Iowa Test of Basic Skills: Table 5 shows the mean achievement scores of the control group and the four variables (sample populations) for vocabulary, comprehension, spelling, word usage, use of reference material, and arithmetic. The scores are expressed in positive or negative mean deviations (in year and month) from the national norm for each grade.

In *vocabulary* all groups scored seven months or more below the norm and all of the variable groups scored lower than the control group. The best achievers in rank order were populations 4, 2, 1, 3; for high to low they were the non-Amish in public schools with Amish pupils, the Amish in private schools, the Amish in public schools with non-Amish pupils. Only variable 3 showed a difference from the control group which was significant at the .01 level of confidence.

When Amish scores are compared with the combined groups of non-Amish (Table 6) it will be noted that the Amish excel in spelling, word usage, and arithmetic. The non-Amish overtake the Amish in vocabulary and by a scant margin in reading comprehension.

In reading *comprehension* all groups were in arrears from the national norm. The difference between the control group and the sample population variables was not large enough to be significant.

In *spelling* the Amish in all three variables scored higher than the control group and higher than the non-Amish who were enrolled with them in the same school. The differences between the Amish and the non-Amish samples was significant at the .05 level of confidence.

In *word usage* only the Amish pupils in private schools scored higher than the national norm. Their scores were above the control group and higher than the non-Amish. Several of these differences were statistically significant. This finding raises some interesting questions which are discussed in the next chapter.

In *knowledge and use of reference material* all groups were five months or more below the national norm. The public schools with all Amish enrollment had the most favorable score and it was followed by the control group. The variance between the groups was not statistically significant.

Table 5. Mean Scores of Control Group and Amish Populations for Grade 8, Iowa Achievement Tests

Skills Tested	Control Group (N=27)	Population† 1 (N=28)	2 (N=61)	3 (N=26)	4 (N=34)
Vocabulary	-0.70	-1.86	-1.61	-2.23	-1.09
Comprehension	-1.14	-1.34	-1.20	-1.20	-1.23
Spelling	-0.83	0.09	0.51	0.28	-1.16
Word Usage	-1.90	-0.37	0.64	-0.37	-1.22
Reference Material	-0.55	-0.34	-1.00	-0.74	-0.95
Arithmetic	-0.19	1.14	1.06	0.02	-0.83
Average deviation for all subjects	-0.88	-0.44	-0.26	-0.47	-1.08

†For Population samples see Notes to Table 1 or text (pp.51-53).

The norm of the Iowa test if 0.00. Deviations from the norm are shown in years and months. (A score of 1.20 is equal to one year and 2 months above the norm.) The statistically significant relationships between means are given below. (See also appendix tables A-9 to A-14.) One asterisk (*) represents P <.05 and two (**) represents P <.01.

Vocabulary:
    Control group and population 1, **
    Control group and population 2, *
    Control group and population 3, **
    Population 3 and 4, *
Reading comprehension: no significant differences
Spelling:
    Control group and population 2, **
    Control group and population 3, *
    Population 1 and 4, *
    Population 2 and 4, **
    Population 3 and 4, *

Word usage:
- Control group and population 1, **
- Control group and population 2, **
- Control group and population 3, **
- Population 1 and 2, *
- Population 2 and 3, *
- Population 2 and 4, **

Use of reference: no significant differences

Arithmetic:
- Control group and 1, **
- Control group and 2, **
- Population 1 and 3, *
- Population 1 and 4, **
- Population 2 and 3, **
- Population 2 and 4, **

Table 6. Mean Scores of Combined Amish and Non-Amish for Grade 8, Iowa Achievement Tests

Skills Tested	Mean Scores	
	Amish (N=115)	Non-Amish (N=61)
Vocabulary	-1.81	-0.92†
Comprehension	-1.23	-1.19
Spelling	0.36††	-1.01
Word usage	0.16††	-1.52
Reference Material	-0.78	-0.77
Arithmetic	0.85††	-0.55

†Statistically significant in favor of the non-Amish, $P < .01$. See appendix Tables A-9 to A-13.

††Statistically significant in favor of the Amish, $P < .05$, for spelling, $P < .01$ for word usage, and $P < .01$ for arithmetic. For analysis of variance and summary statistics see appendix Tables A-15 to A-20.

In *arithmetic problem solving* the Amish populations scored above the national norm and higher than either the control group or the non-Amish in the public schools they attended. The differences are significant at the .01 level of confidence.

When the deviations from the national norms for all subjects are averaged (Table 5) the Amish pupils in private schools score higher than any other group tested, and the Amish samples have more favorable scores than either the control group or the non-Amish pupils who are enrolled in the same schools with the Amish.

When Iowa scores for grades five through eight are compared (for Amish in private schools, Table 7) there is a tendency for scores to improve with grade in those subjects in which the Amish do well: spelling, word usage, and arithmetic. Achievement in vocabulary, comprehension, knowledge and use of reference material declined from grade five to eight although the differences do not appear to be great.

Table 7. Mean Scores of Pupils in Amish Schools for Grades 5 to 8, Iowa Achievement Tests

Skills Tested	Grade			
	5 (N=55)	6 (N=67)	7 (N=91)	8 (N=61)
Vocabulary	-1.32	-1.70	-1.48	-1.61
Comprehension	-0.73	-1.33	-1.09	-1.20
Spelling	0.06	-0.09	0.39	0.51
Word Usage	0.71	0.22	0.43	0.64
Use of Reference	-0.78	-0.74	-0.68	-1.00
Arithmetic	0.55	0.58	1.01	1.06

Table 8. Profile of Pupil Scores in an Amish School for Grades 6 to 8, SRA and Iowa Tests

		SRA Tests†				Iowa Tests††						
Grade	Student Number	L	R	Q	T	V	R	L-1	L-4	W-3	A-2	National Grade Norm
Sixth	1	72	95	117	92	2.6	3.0	6.2	5.7	2.9	5.3	
	2	77	91	147	109	5.2	4.0	6.2	7.3	5.7	8.2	
	3	86	84	114	96	3.8	3.8	4.9	5.9	5.3	7.3	
	4	66	93	107	84	4.1	2.9	3.5	4.4	3.7	3.8	
	5	72	88	119	91	3.8	3.5	4.9	5.7	5.8	7.9	
	6	76	97	126	99	3.8	2.9	5.9	7.6	4.8	9.0	
	7	92	97	63	72	5.2	3.5	5.1	5.4	4.7	6.5	
						4.7	3.3	5.2	6.0	4.7	6.8	6.7
Seventh	8	73	87	89	79	4.8	3.7	2.5	5.1	5.4	5.9	
	9	99	76	119	97	6.6	8.0	7.7	7.0	7.1	10.3	
	10	78	98	94	86	4.8	5.6	4.3	9.6	6.5	6.3	
	11	83	107	108	96	6.0	3.9	5.5	7.0	6.1	9.0	
	12	95	94	101	96	6.8	8.7	8.8	7.6	8.2	10.0	
	13	86	94	91	88	5.5	6.0	8.2	8.6	5.4	9.0	
						5.6	5.9	5.8	7.9	6.4	8.4	7.7
Eighth	14	70	94	108	85	4.9	4.2	4.9	4.4	5.1	7.7	
	15	85	105	106	96	7.0	4.5	12.0	9.5	5.8	10.1	
	16	101	111	109	106	7.2	8.5	9.5	9.1	9.1	10.7	
	17	80	79	77	76	4.1	4.2	9.0	6.2	6.5	7.2	
	18	87	101	116	98	4.9	6.5	8.8	8.3	5.6	9.2	
						5.6	5.5	8.8	7.5	6.4	8.9	8.7

† L = Language IQ
R = Reasoning IQ
Q = Quantitative IQ
T = Total or composite IQ

†† (grade equivalent)
V = Vocabulary
R = Reading comprehension
L-1 = Spelling
L-4 = Grammar usage
W-3 = Knowledge and use of reference material
A-2 = Arithmetic problem solving

Range of individual scores: Before discussing the findings of still additional tests, it should be pointed out that the range of individual scores on the SRA and Iowa tests are probably very important to anyone interested in understanding these children. A valid interpretation of the test scores is strongly dependent upon an adequate understanding of the social and cultural background of the children. The scores for grades six to eight in a single school are shown in Table 8. It will be observed that some children did much better than others (Viz., #11, 16). Overall the children scored highest on the quantitative phase of the SRA test and were rather consistently lower than the national norms of the language phase of the test. The difference between language and quantitative scores was as much as 70 points (#2) while the average difference for all 18 pupils was 24 points. The validity of the composite score may be questioned on account of the large differences in range between especially language and quantitative. The low scoring in vocabulary and reading comprehension on the Iowa tests is probably accountable to the timing factor in giving the test. Only four of the 18 pupils finished the Reading comprehension phase of the test. These pupils had never before taken standardized tests. The difference in time orientation, let alone the value orientation, between Amish and American public schooling are undoubtedly reflected in the scoring results.

Stanford Achievement Test. We wanted to know whether the Amish pupils tended to decline in their achievement as they approached the upper grades or final year of schooling. To investigate this problem we chose a region embracing several counties in northern Indiana where the Amish settlement is located. All of the public schools who had any Amish pupils in their enrollments were contacted to ascertain whether they regularly give tests to their pupils, and whether the scores could be compared. The test that was most widely used among these schools was the Stanford Achievement Test, Form II. The scores for 605 Amish students were obtained and a random sample (three non-Amish for every Amish pupil) yielded a total of 1,855 non-Amish pupils which served as the control group. Information was available for only the first six grades, as the number of frequencies in grades 7-8 were too few for analysis. The results are shown in Tables 9-11.

The mean achievement scores for all phases of the test (word meaning, paragraph meaning, spelling, vocabulary and language, word study skills, arithmetic, computation, arithmetic conceptualization, arithmetic application, science, and social science) are given in Table 9. In all grades both Amish and non-Amish scored above the norm for their grade. The Amish have slightly higher mean scores in grades two, five, and six.

When vocabulary and language achievement scores are compared (Table 10) no outstanding differences or consistent pattern emerges. The Amish have slightly higher scores over the non-Amish from grades two through six.

When arithmetic scores were compared, the Amish held a slight edge over the non-Amish (Table 11). The differences are minimal. These findings lead us to believe that at least for grades 1-6 there is no cultural barrier to achievement for the Amish in this sample. They perform equal to the non-Amish.

Table 9. Mean Composite Scores, Amish and Non-Amish in Public Schools for Grades 1 to 6, Stanford Achievement Tests

	Amish		Amish	
Grade	Number	Mean Score	Number	Mean Score
1	101	2.31	333	2.64
2	163	3.31	478	3.11
3	123	3.16	308	3.68
4	100	5.33	419	5.53
5	65	6.56	163	6.25
6	73	6.88	154	6.77
Total Students	605		1,855	

Table 10. Mean Scores of Amish and Non-Amish in Public Schools for Grades 1 to 6, Stanford Achievement Test in Vocabulary and Language

	Amish		Non-Amish	
Grade	Number	Mean Score	Number	Mean Score
1	87	2.15	302	2.15
2	81	3.25	256	2.54
3	106	4.52	281	4.06
4	100	5.83	229	5.44
5	60	6.27	152	5.74
6	34	6.67	70	6.46
Total students	468		1,290	

Table 11. Mean Scores of Amish and Non-Amish in Public Schools for Grades 1 to 6, Stanford Achievement Test in Arithmetic

	Amish		Non-Amish	
Grade	Number	Mean Score	Number	Mean Score
1	49	2.44	177	2.46
2	66	2.87	201	2.71
3	10	4.10	18	4.08
4	182	5.12	463	5.03
5	76	6.40	190	5.40
6	92	7.11	180	6.87
Total students	475		1,229	

Summary for intelligence and achievement: The SRA Test of Educational Ability was administered to a control group and to Amish pupil populations in various school settings: to a sample of Amish pupils in public schools where all pupils are of the Amish faith, to pupils in private (parochial) Amish schools, and to pupils in a mixed population (with non-Amish of about equal porportions).

There was little difference in IQ scores whether the Amish were in public school or in private school or in a school where all the pupils were of the Amish faith. The Amish pupils scored higher than the non-Amish pupils in mixed schools. When the scores of the Amish were combined and compared with all the non-Amish pupil scores, the Amish had a slightly lower score by 2.8 points. The Amish scored lowest in vocabulary and their best showing was in quantitative.

The IQ scores of Amish pupils in private schools varied little from grades five to eight.

To measure achievement, the Iowa Test of Basic Skills was given to the same sample populations. Tests given were in vocabulary, reading comprehension, spelling, word usage, knowledge and use of reference material, and arithmetic. Of the three variable Amish population, those in private school scored higher than those in public school where all were of the Amish faith and higher than the non-Amish in schools where both were together. They scored lowest in vocabulary, reading comprehension, and in knowledge and use of reference material, while their highest scores were in spelling, word usage, and arithmetic.

The combined Amish scores were higher than the non-Amish pupils in spelling, word usage, and arithmetic. The non-Amish pupils overtook the Amish in vocabulary.

The achievement scores of pupils in Amish schools tended to improve from grades five to eight in those subjects in which the Amish do well; spelling, word usage, and arithmetic. Scores in vocabulary, comprehension, and knowledge and use of reference material do not tend to increase from grade five to eight.

On the Stanford Achievement Test, the Amish in public schools for grades one through six scored above the national norm, but their scores did not show any marked differences from the non-Amish pupils. In language and vocabulary no marked differences in scores were found, but in arithmetic the Amish tended to be better achievers than the non-Amish by the time they reached grades five and six.

Correlation between IQ and achievement. Intercorrelations were made between the ten items in the SRA and Iowa tests to discover the relationship between IQ and achievement. The paired variables with statistical summaries for each of the five groups occur in the Appendix, Tables A-22 to A-26.

Of 45 possible statistically significant correlations in each of the five groups, the following number actually occurred (using the .05 level of confidence):

25 in the control group
42 in the Amish who were in all-Amish public schools
44 in the Amish schools
40 in the non-Amish with Amish pupils

The greatest difference is between the control group and the Amish schools. There are, in other words, many more significant relationships between the ten skills in Amish groups than in the non-Amish (control group). A correlation matrix between the non-Amish control group and the Amish in private schools is shown in the Appendix, Table A-21. Only one pair of variables (arithmetic and vocabulary) was not significantly correlated among the Amish. Twenty matched pairs were not significant among the non-Amish. This finding suggests that among the Amish a given skill is closely related to all other skills. The Amish correlation matrix suggests continuity in the skills learned, while a greater extent of discontinuity is suggested among the control group pupils.

Goodenough-Harris test findings: In this nonverbal test of intelligence the child is asked to draw a man, a woman, and himself. The drawings are scored and the total point scored are standardized using 100 as a mean standard IQ measure. Although all three drawings were used in this analysis, only the first drawing (man) has been validated to give a reasonable indicator of intelligence. The drawing of "woman" and "self" are used in this anlaysis to obtain insights on nonintellectual and cultural factors. The drawings were administered to Amish pupils in private (parochial) schools and their achievements were compared with national norms. The performance of Amish pupils by age and type of drawing is shown in Table 12. Although only the man drawing is used as a measure of intelligence, the scores for the three drawings are given. The scores for "woman" and "self" drawings were generally lower than for the drawing of "man."

Table 12. Mean IQ of Pupils in Amish Schools by Age and Type of Drawing, Goodenough Harris Draw-a-Man Test

Boys					Girls				
		Type of drawing					Type of drawing		
Age	Pupils (N=208)	Man	Woman	Self	Age	Pupils (N=181)	Man	Woman	Self
6	2	96.5	98.5	93.5	6	4	111.5	96.0	94.2
7	21	107.6	99.1	102.6	7	11	106.6	94.6	96.1
8	27	102.6	95.1	101.4	8	20	110.4	102.7	100.9
9	23	101.3	94.4	98.4	9	21	102.4	97.1	94.3
10	28	103.1	98.2	98.8	10	25	98.2	93.7	91.0
11	25	100.5	93.8	96.8	11	16	98.5	95.1	93.5
12	30	100.1	96.0	97.4	12	32	97.4	93.1	93.1
13	22	100.6	99.9	102.3	13	25	99.2	95.1	92.9
14	24	101.8	97.6	97.2	14	19	97.4	92.6	93.0
15	6	100.0	95.3	98.1	15	8	103.0	98.0	100.5

Source of test: Dale B. Harris, *Children's Drawings as Measures of Intellectual Maturity*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963.

Variation of the scores by schools is shown in Table 13. The 389 Amish pupils in 12 private schools had a combined intelligence score of 101.6. The 12 schools ranged from a low 91.5 to a high of 112.7. Eight of the 12 schools had a mean standard IQ score above 100.

When the scores were tabulated by age and sex (Table 14) it will be observed that the younger pupils (ages 6-8) tended to score higher than the older pupils (9-15). The combined score of 101.0 for the girls was about one point lower than for the boys which is contrary to most findings. Harris (1964) reports that there is a slight but consistent tendency for girls to score higher than boys in most cultures where the test has been applied. This difference between the sexes in Amish culture can probably be attributed to the scoring procedures. At least five items in the scoring scale (number 15, 23, 48, 68, 70) have little significance when Amish children especially girls draw a woman in Amish dress. These items in the scale respectively are cosmetic lips, necklace or earrings, whether or not a belt is worn, hip contour, and calf of leg. (Harris 1963:276-291.) Clearly the absence of these features in Amish drawings results in a penalty for Amish children.

Comparisons between the Amish and the U.S. standardized norm are shown in Table 15. The mean raw scores are used here so that the results can be compared with existing data on other culture groups. The combined Amish scores for both boys and girls compares favorably with the standardized U.S. norm and exceeds the latter in grades six to nine. Amish boys held a slight margin over the U.S. norm for boys from ages 7 to 12. The Amish girls exceeded the U.S. norm for girls from ages 6 to 9 and then dropped lower than the norm until age 15.

The graphic presentation of the raw score comparisons between Amish boys and girls are given in Figure 21 between Amish boys and the U.S. norm for boys in Figure 22, and between Amish girls U.S. norm for girls in Figure 23.

Comparisons of Amish man drawing in private school and in public school are given in Table 16. The public schools were made up of only Amish pupils in an area densely populated with Amish people. Scores were obtained for the ages 12 to 15. The Amish in private schools scored over seven points higher than the Amish in public schools. The girls in public schools (age 12 and 13) scored higher than the boys, while boys in private school exceeded the girls by slight margins.

Table 13. Mean IQ of Pupils in Amish Schools by Schools, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing

School	Total School Enrollment	Pupils Tested Number Pupils	 IQ Scores
A	32	32	112.7
B	17	16	110.3
C	46	44	108.3
D	27	17	105.5
E	50†	30	105.2
F	28	25	103.7
G	49†	46	103.1
H	36	34	100.0
I	50†	49	96.7
J	19	20	94.9
K	37	39	93.9
L	38	37	91.5
All Categories	429	389	101.6

†Two room schools.

Table 14. Mean IQ of Pupils in Amish Schools by Age and Sex, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing Test

	Boys		Girls		Combined	
Age	Number	Score	Number	Score	Number	Score
6	2	96.5	4	111.5	6	106.5
7	21	107.6	11	106.6	32	107.3
8	27	102.6	20	110.4	47	105.8
9	23	101.3	21	102.4	44	101.8
10	28	103.1	25	98.2	55	100.8
11	25	100.5	16	98.5	41	99.7
12	30	100.0	32	97.4	62	98.7
13	22	101.6	25	99.2	47	100.3
14	24	101.8	19	97.4	43	99.6
15	6	100.0	8	103.0	14	101.7
All Categories	208	102.1	181	101.0	389	101.6

Table 15. Mean Raw Scores of Pupils in Amish Schools and U.S. Norm by Age and Sex, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing

	Boys		Girls		Combined	
	Mean Score		Mean Score		Mean Score	
Age	Amish (N=208)	U.S.† Norm	Amish (N=181)	U.S. Norm	Amish (N=389)	U.S. Norm
6	17.0	19.7	23.4	19.0	22.0	19.3
7	26.2	21.6	26.9	24.3	25.8	23.0
8	27.9	26.3	32.8	27.2	30.0	26.8
9	30.6	30.0	33.2	31.2	31.8	30.6
10	36.3	36.0	34.5	37.1	35.4	36.5
11	37.8	37.6	38.8	40.6	38.2	39.1
12	40.1	39.2	40.7	42.8	40.4	41.0
13	43.9	44.1	43.1	45.4	43.5	44.8
14	45.8	44.4	43.4	44.6	44.8	44.5
15	43.7	45.5	47.0	45.5	45.4	45.5

†Norm is described by Harris (1963:100).

Table 16. Comparison of Standardized Scores of Pupils in Amish School and Public School by Age and Sex, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing

	Private			Public		
Age	Boys (N=206)	Girls (N=177)	Combined (N=383)	Boys (N=27)	Girls (N=26)	Combined (N=53)
12	101.1	97.4	98.7	90.0	102.5	97.1
13	101.6	99.2	100.3	89.3	99.8	94.6
14	101.8	97.4	99.6	94.0	93.5	93.8
15	100.0	103.0	101.7	89.0	90.0	89.6
All Categories	102.1	100.7	101.5	91.8	96.4	94.0

The IQ scores for the two tests, SRA and Goodenough-Harris, were given to the same students in several Amish schools. The Amish scored slightly higher on the nonverbal or drawing test. These comparisons are shown in Table 17.

In order to obtain cross-cultural comparisons the Goodenough-Harris Draw-a-Man test was given to pupils in a multicultural school containing 254 pupils of three distinguishable ethnic groups: Amish, Blacks, and rural white. (Table 18.) The school was in a rural setting where there was a wide range of achievement levels among the children. Prior to the inauguration of expanded improvement programs in 1966 half of the pupils had been found to be disadvantaged or culturally deprived. According to the principal of the school, some of the IQ scores of the children rose as much as 20 points within a period of three months. The results of the man drawing show the Amish to be 2.9 points below the rural white children but 8.8 points higher than the blacks. (Table 18.) The variance between the sexes within each ethnic group was 2 points or less.

Table 17. Comparison of SRA Composite and Goodenough-Harris IQ Scores, Pupils in Amish Schools by Schools

School	Goodenough-Harris Number Pupils	Goodenough-Harris Mean Score	SRA Tests[†] Number Pupils	SRA Tests[†] Mean Score
A	32	112.7	20	102.8
B	16	110.3	--	--
C	44	108.3	--	--
D	17	105.5	14	97.9
E	30	105.2	27	98.6
F	25	103.7	9	98.3
G	46	103.1	17	93.3
H	34	100.0	22	92.2
I	49	96.7	29	96.6
J	20	94.9	13	106.1
K	39	93.9	13	92.0
L	37	91.5	17	88.3

[†] SRA tests were given to the upper grades and the Goodenough-Harris to all pupils.

Table 18. IQ Scores of Three Ethnic Groups in a Single School, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing

Ethnic Group	Boys Number	Boys Score	Girls Number	Girls Score	Combined Number	Combined Score
Rural White	20	101.6	13	102.1	33	101.8
Old Order Amish	21	98.8	22	97.2	43	98.9
Blacks	13	90.7	12	92.8	25	90.1
All Groups	54	97.9	47	97.4	101	97.7

Cultural influences in the Goodenough-Harris drawings: A content analysis of the three drawings of each child was made to assess the cultural influences. Whether Amish children drew Amish-like persons or whether they drew non-Amish subjects was the basic criterion for evaluation. Each drawing was examined carefully for its cultural content, whether Amish-like or non-Amish ("English"). In a traditional Amish community we would expect children to draw the human figure in Amish garb. In an Amish community that is small or marginal in relation to the traditional culture, we would expect to find more "English" features in the drawing styles. Most of the drawings clearly fell into two categories: Amish and non-Amish characteristics. (Examples appear in Figures 1 to 20.) In borderline cases the last vestige of an Amish trait in drawings by the boys was the location of the trouser buttons (broad-fall style). (See self in Figures 10, 11.) One of the last vestiges of an Amish trait in drawings made by girls is the presence of an Amish cap. (See self in Figures 12, 15, 16, 17.) The statistical results are shown in Table 19.

Table 19. Per cent of Amish who Drew Non-Amish Subjects by Amish and Public Schools, Goodenough-Harris Man Drawing

Type of Drawing	In Amish Schools[†] Boys (N=75)	Girls (N=77)	In Public Schools Boys (N=49)	Girls (N=47)
Man	8	16	50	63
Woman	5	16	55	70
Self	2	00	32	4

[†] Children were between the ages of 7-14.

Significant differences were found between boys and girls' drawings and between the drawings in private vs. public schools. Whether the pupil was drawing "a man," "a woman," or "self" also differed significantly in the cultural content. Our basic assumption was that the pupil in the traditional cultural setting will tend to identify more with Amish culture than will pupils who are in greater contact with outside or "English" pupils. The findings substantiate this assumption. In drawing "a man," fifty per cent of the Amish boys in public school drew an "English" "man," but in private school only eight per cent of the boys drew "a man" with non-Amish features. When they were asked to draw "a woman," the results were similar. When they drew themselves they tended to think of themselves as Amish rather than "English." Girls drew "English" subjects more frequently than did boys in both private and public schools. A major difference was found in the drawings of "self." Thirty-two per cent of the boys in public schools drew themselves as "English" as opposed to only four per cent of the girls in private school and only four per cent in public school. No girls drew the self with "English" features. To the Amish in public school "a man" probably means an "English" middle-class American man—they see the man as "worldly" and hence draw such a man. Whether the person who is giving the test in private school is "English" or Amish appears also to have some influence. The difference in our findings between the sexes is consistent with what we know about acculturation patterns in the different sexes, namely that males have greater exposure to the outside world. Men have a greater tendency to leave their church affiliation than do women. Boys appear to dress more English-like than girls and therefore have greater ease of identification with outsiders. Several drawings are reproduced in this report to show the content of each pupil's three drawings. (See Figures 1-20.)

Summary of Goodenough-Harris tests: The test was given to Amish school children in three different settings: in private schools, in public schools, and in a school that included multi-cultural groups. The drawing of "a man" was used as an indicator of intelligence. The drawing of "woman" and "self" were analyzed for their cultural content and insight into traditional and changing patterns of culture.

The combined Amish scores exceeded the mean standard IQ score of 100. The mean score for 389 pupils in twelve schools was 101.6. The twelve schools had a range of means from 91.5 to 112.7.

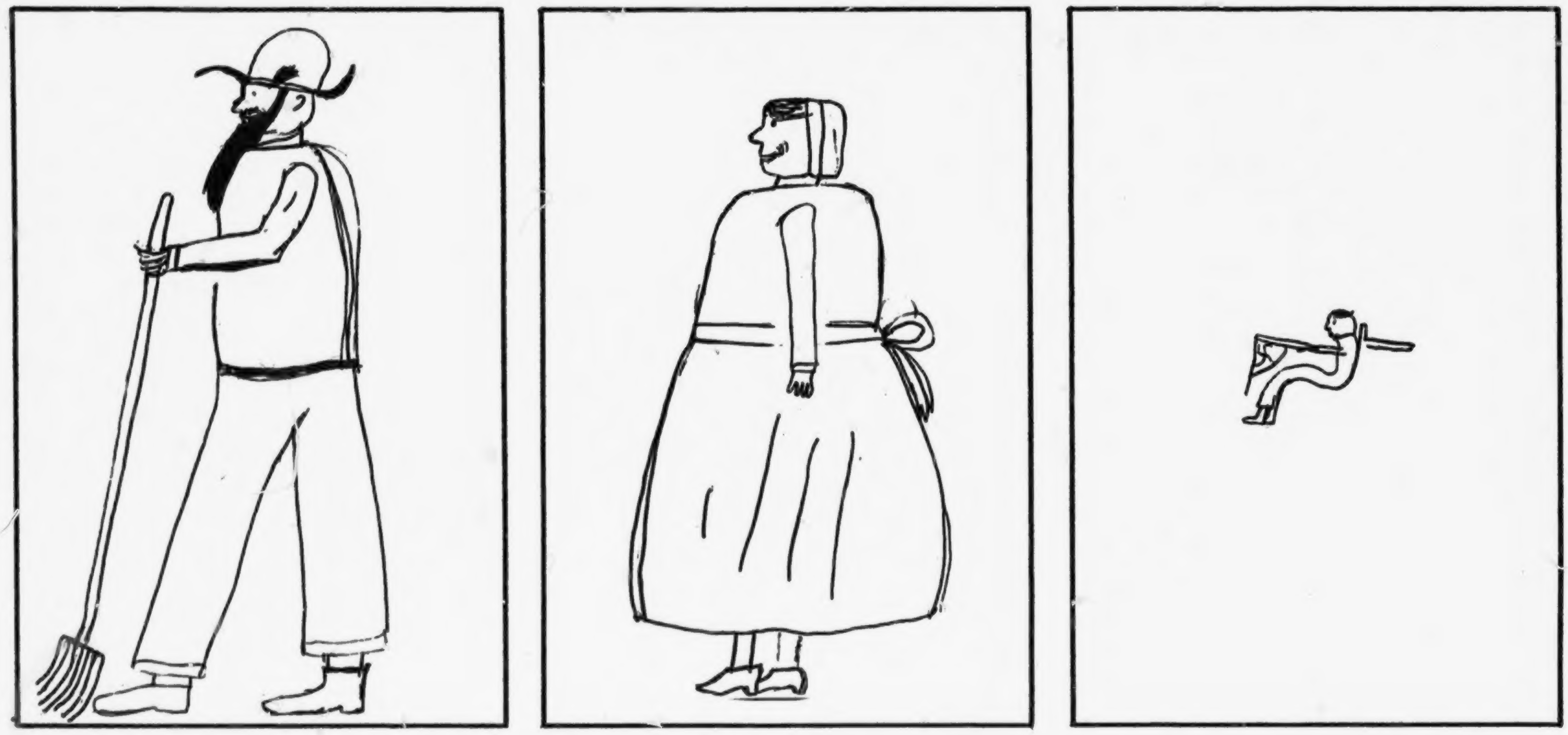
Amish boys scored slightly higher than girls on standardized scores. The combined score for boys was 102.1 and for girls 101.0.

Younger pupils (ages 6-8) made higher scores than older elementary school children (ages 9-15).

Amish pupils in private schools made higher scores than Amish pupils in public schools, even though the pupils in the public school were all of Amish faith.

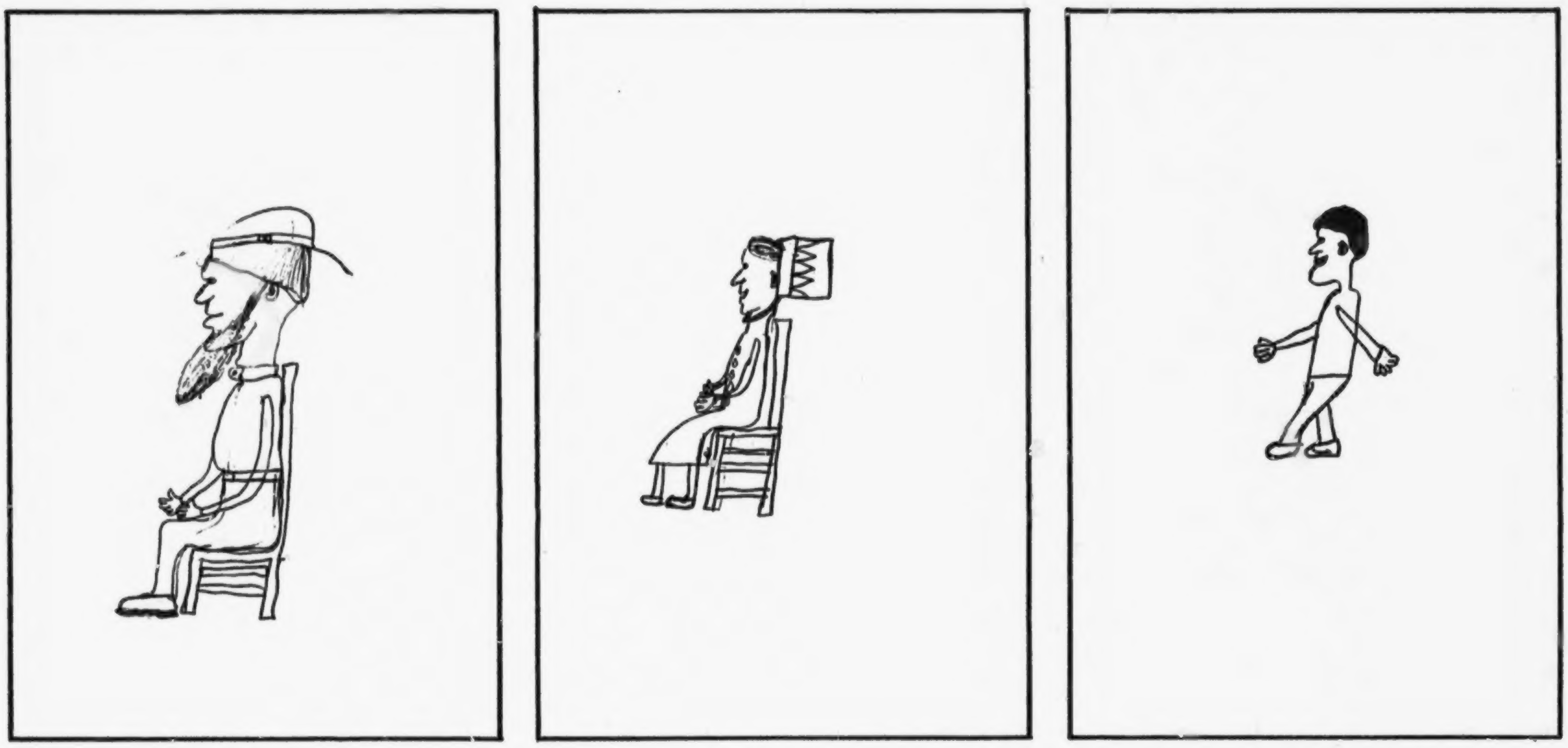
In a school where there were rural white children, black pupils, and Amish pupils of about equal proportions, the Amish scores were slightly below those of the rural white children and higher than the black students.

Drawings by Amish pupils in the traditional schools clearly reflect their traditional culture. Amish children in public schools who drew themselves identified with "English" or alien values more than did the children in the private schools. In the traditional culture where the values are reinforced the Amish children embellish the human figure with traits appropriate to their culture to a greater degree than do Amish pupils in the public school.



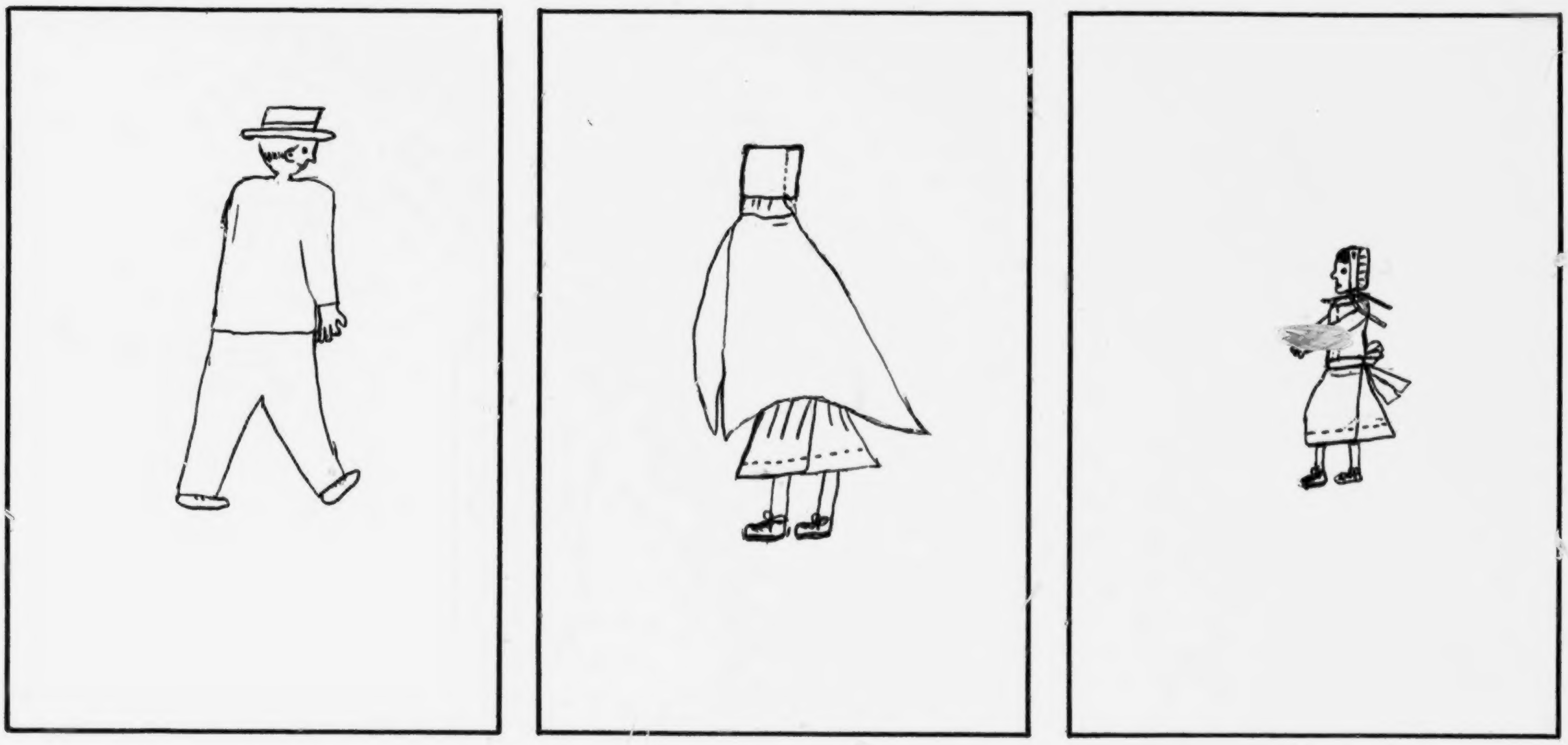
Man Woman Self

Fig. 1. Drawing by boy age 10. Private school.



Man Woman Self

Fig. 2. Drawing by boy age 10. Private school.

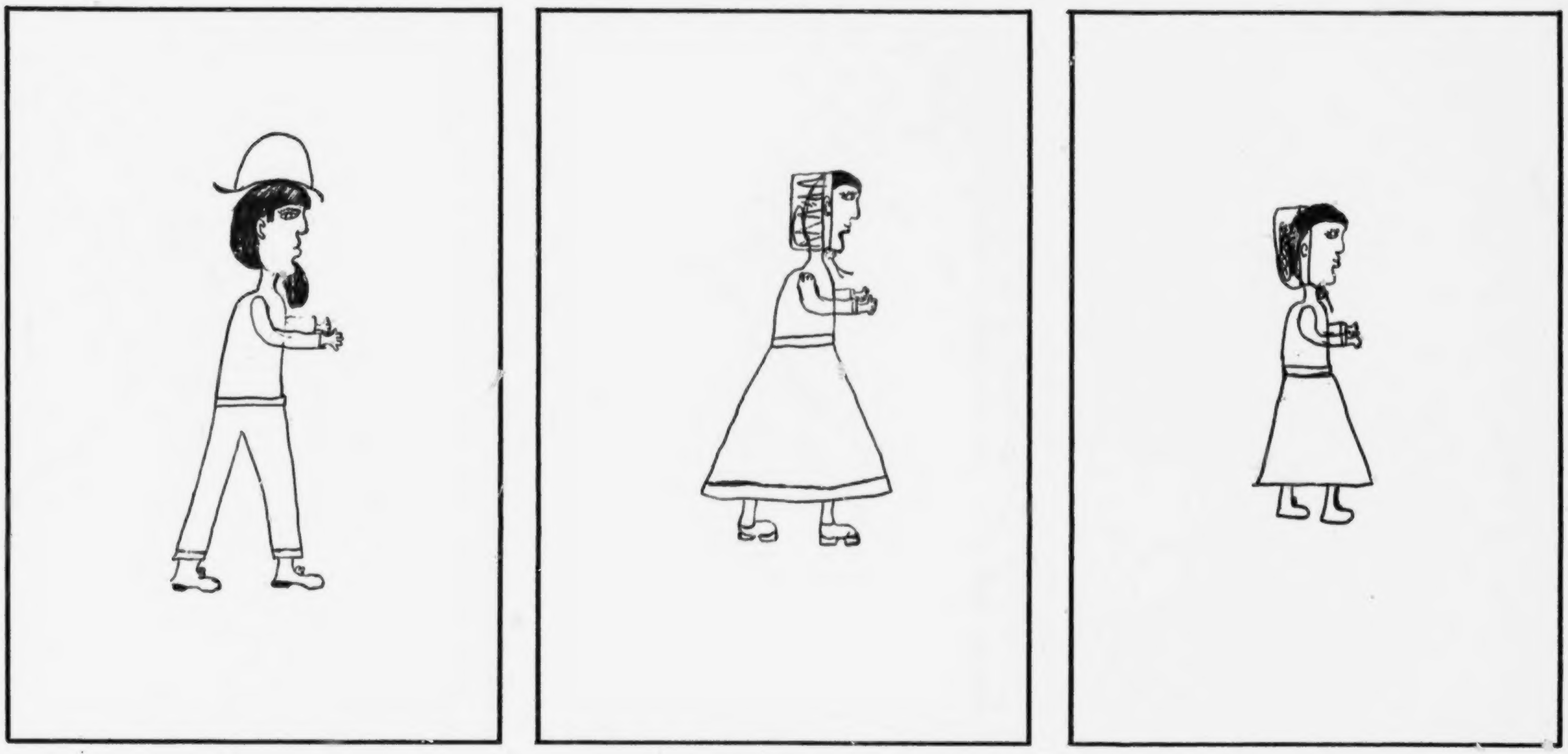


Man

Woman

Self

Fig. 3. Drawing by girl age 10. Private school.

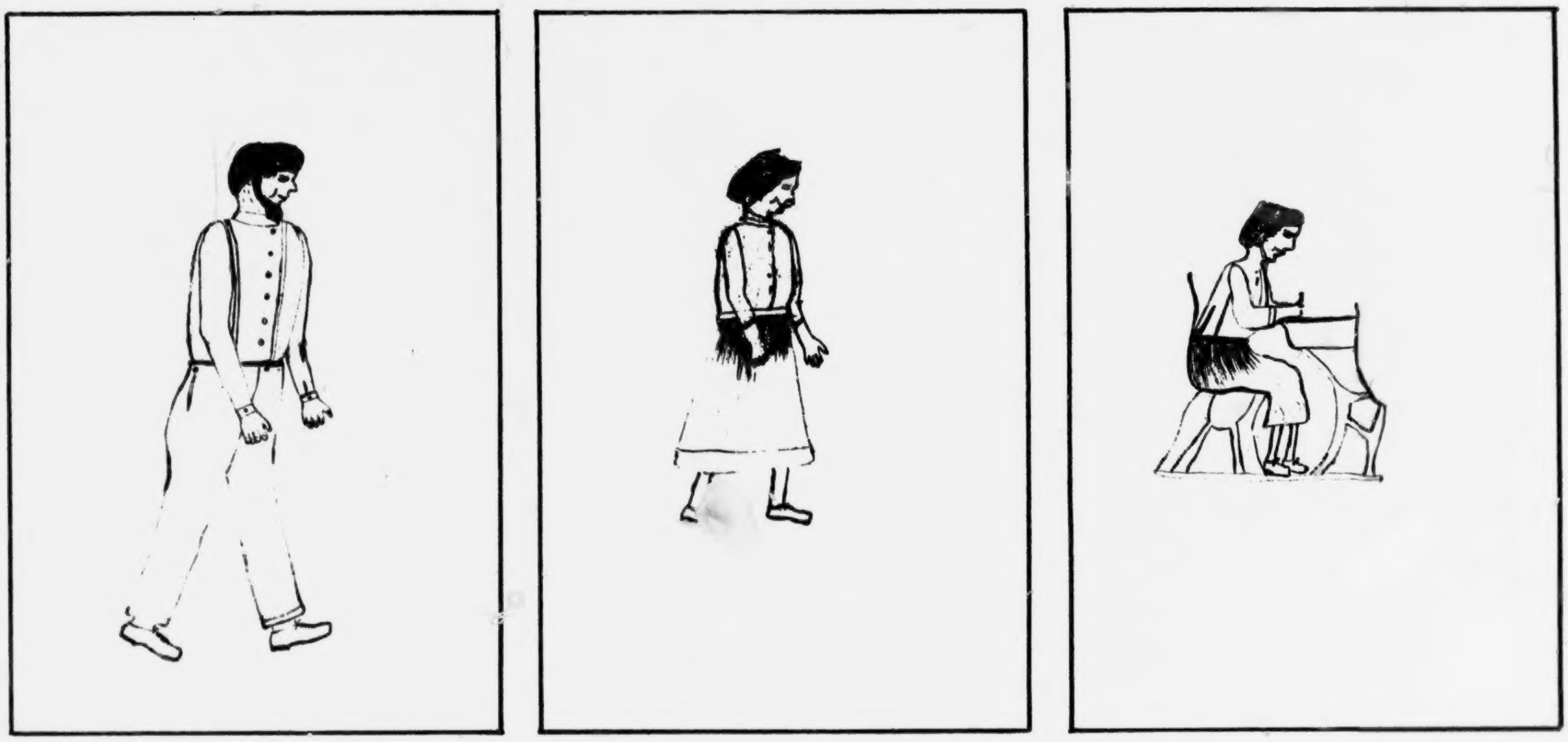


Man

Woman

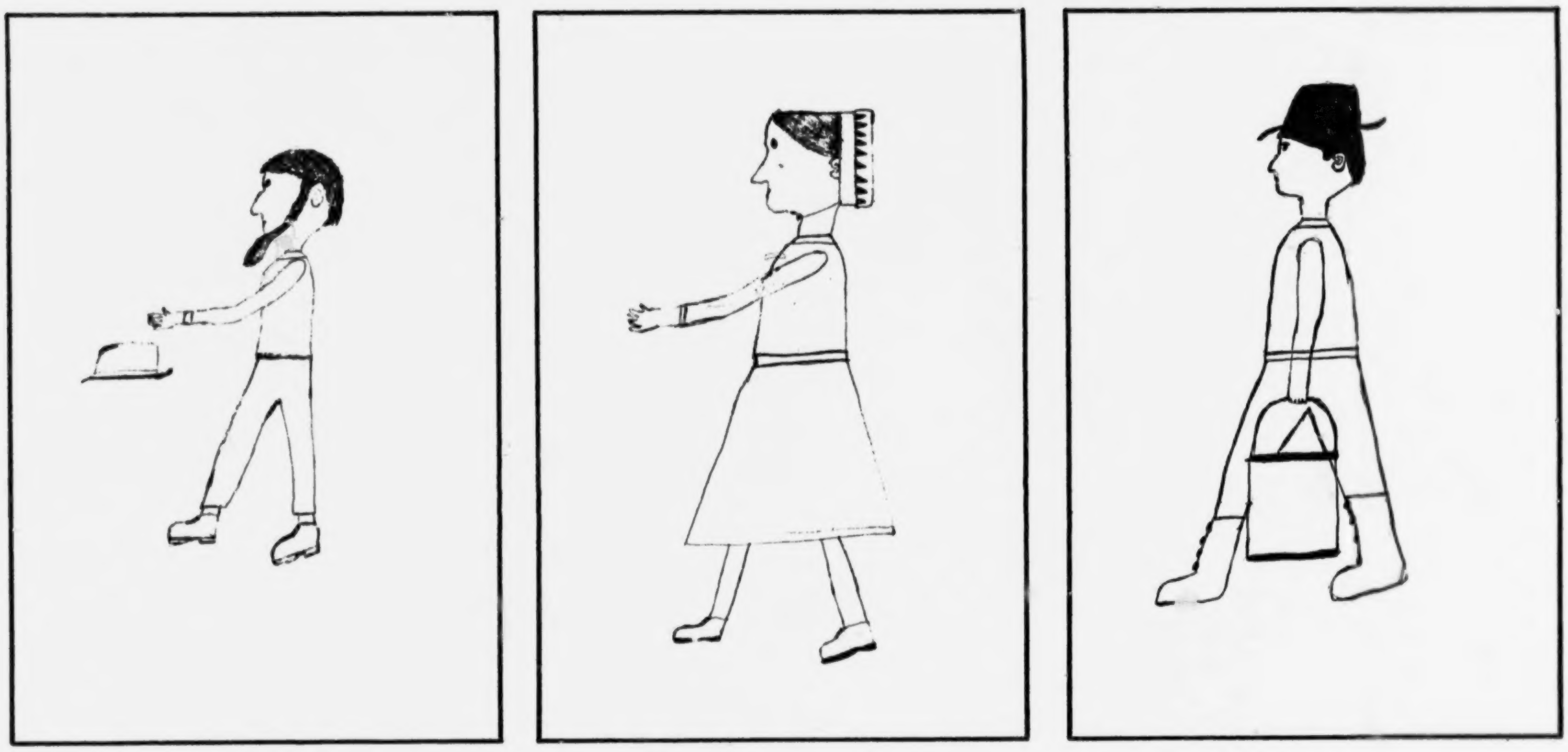
Self

Fig. 4. Drawing by girl age 11. Private school.



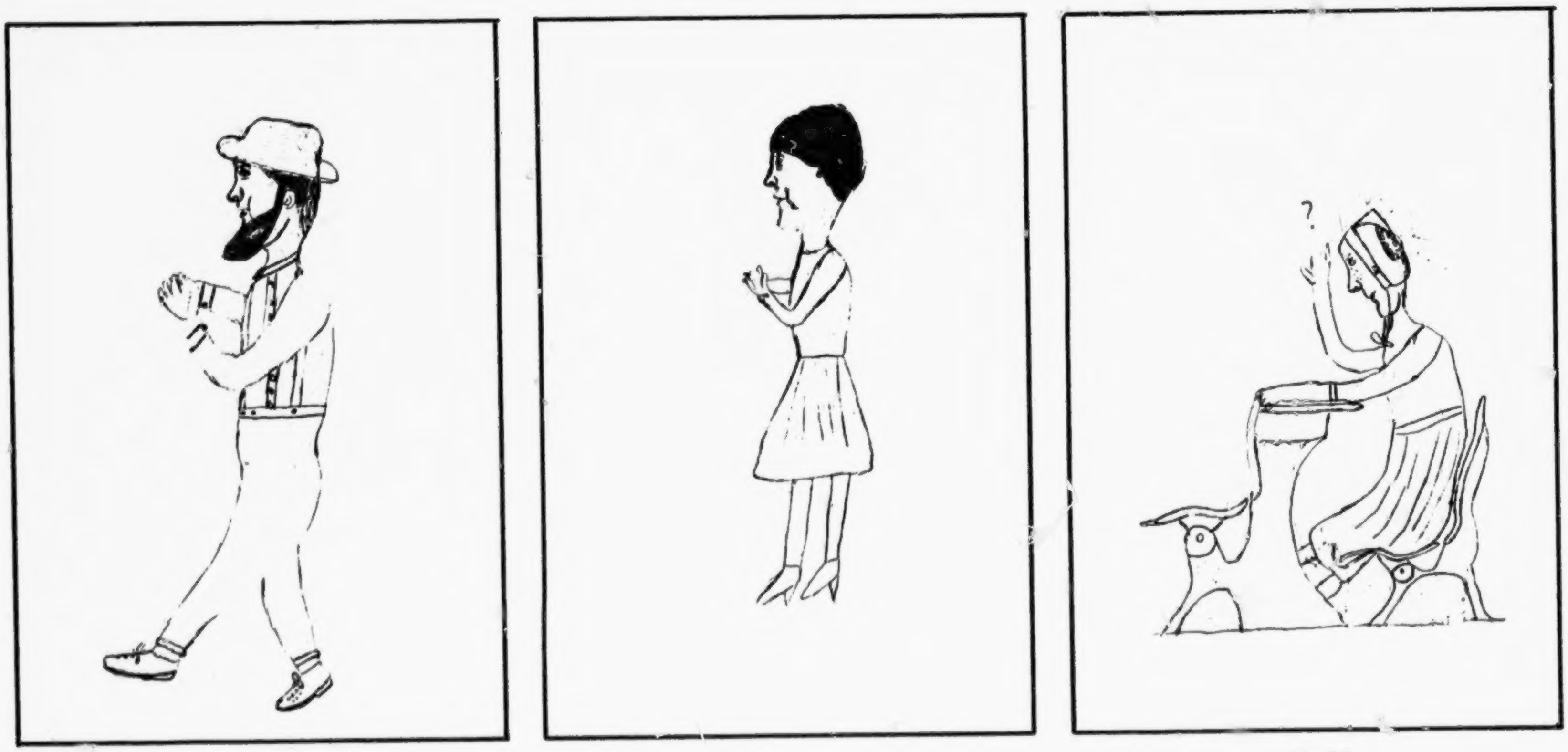
Man Woman Self

Fig. 5. Drawing by girl age 15. Private school.



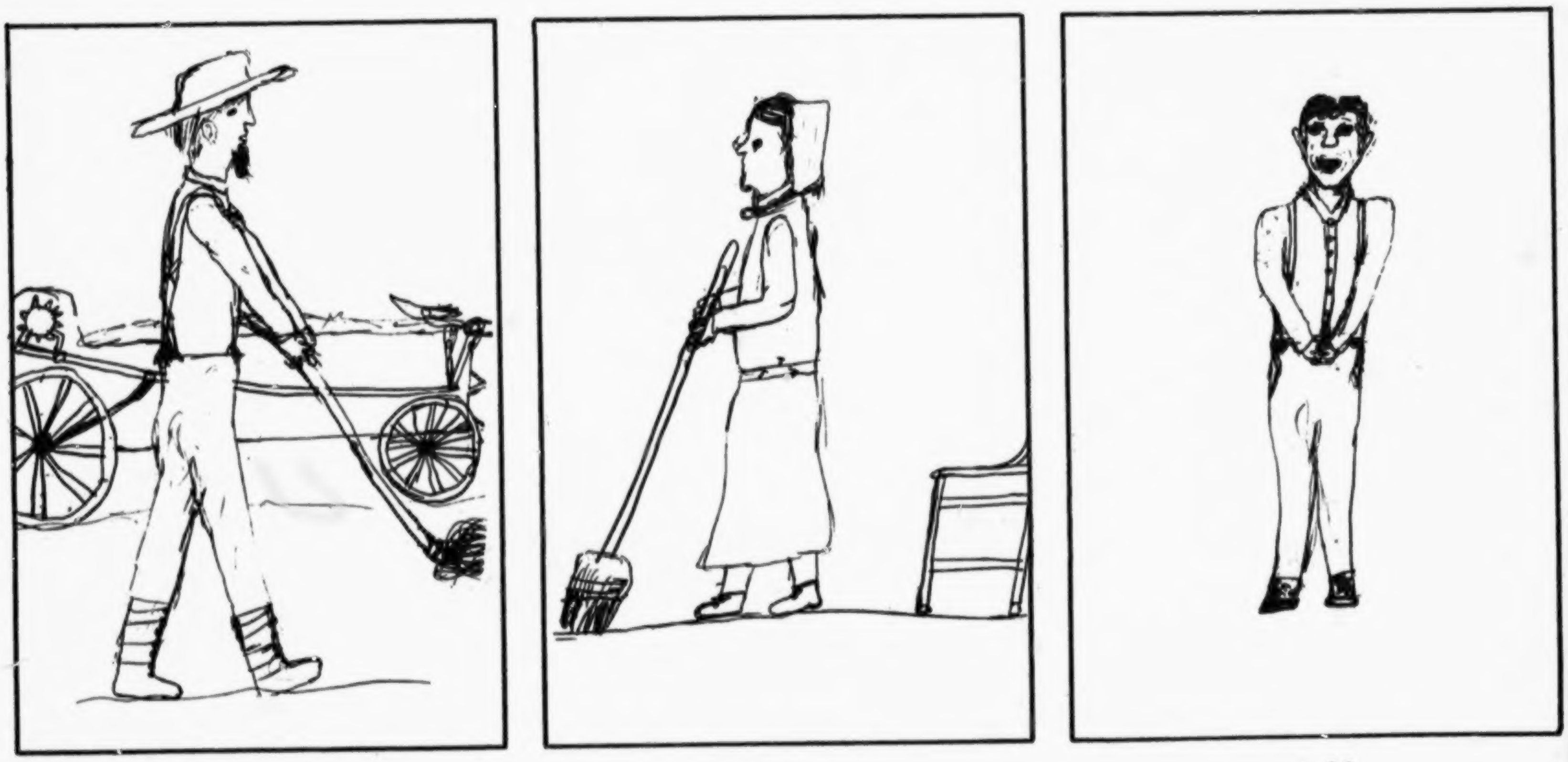
Man Woman Self

Fig. 6. Drawing by ~~girl~~ boy age 14. Private school.



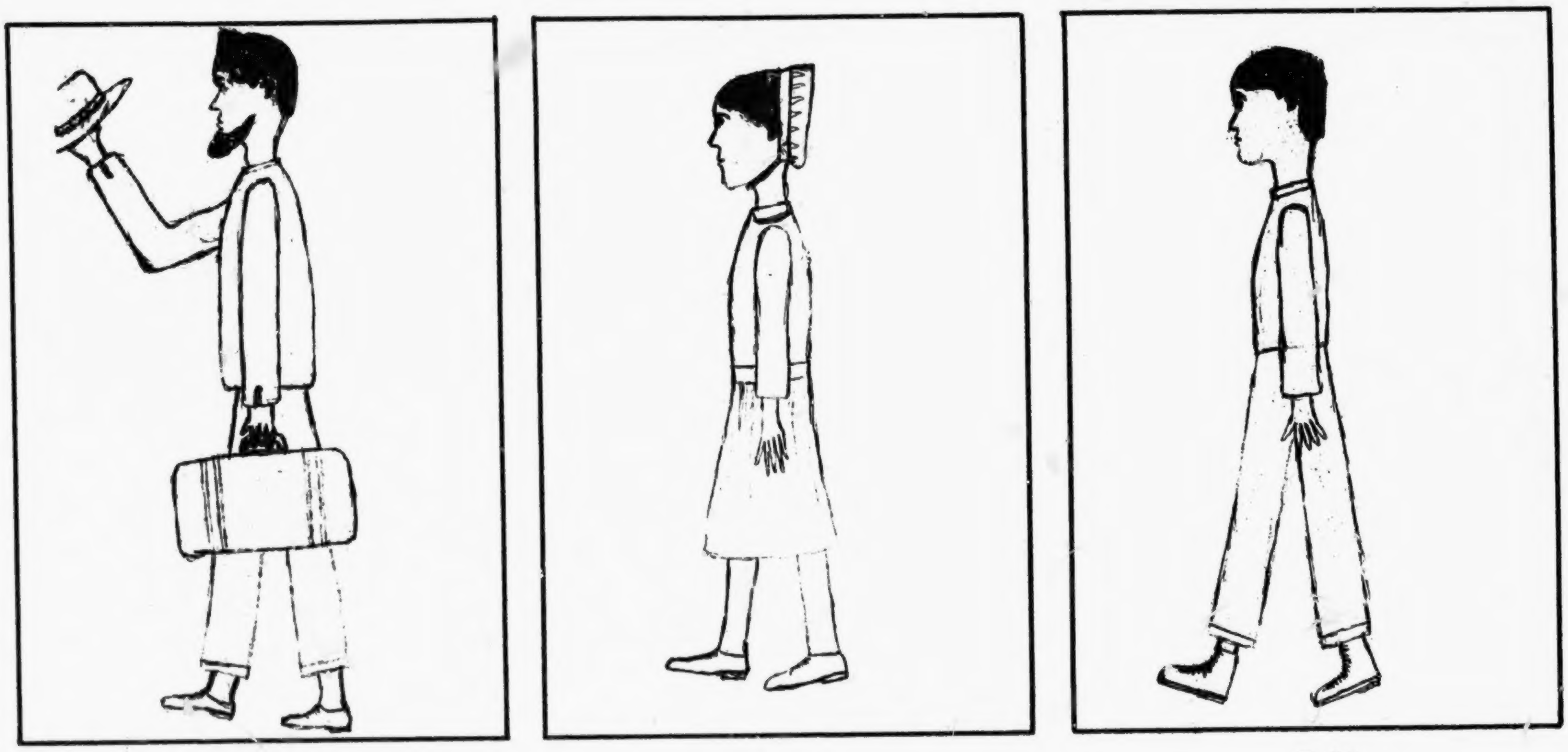
Man Woman Self

Fig. 7. Drawing by girl age 13. Private school.



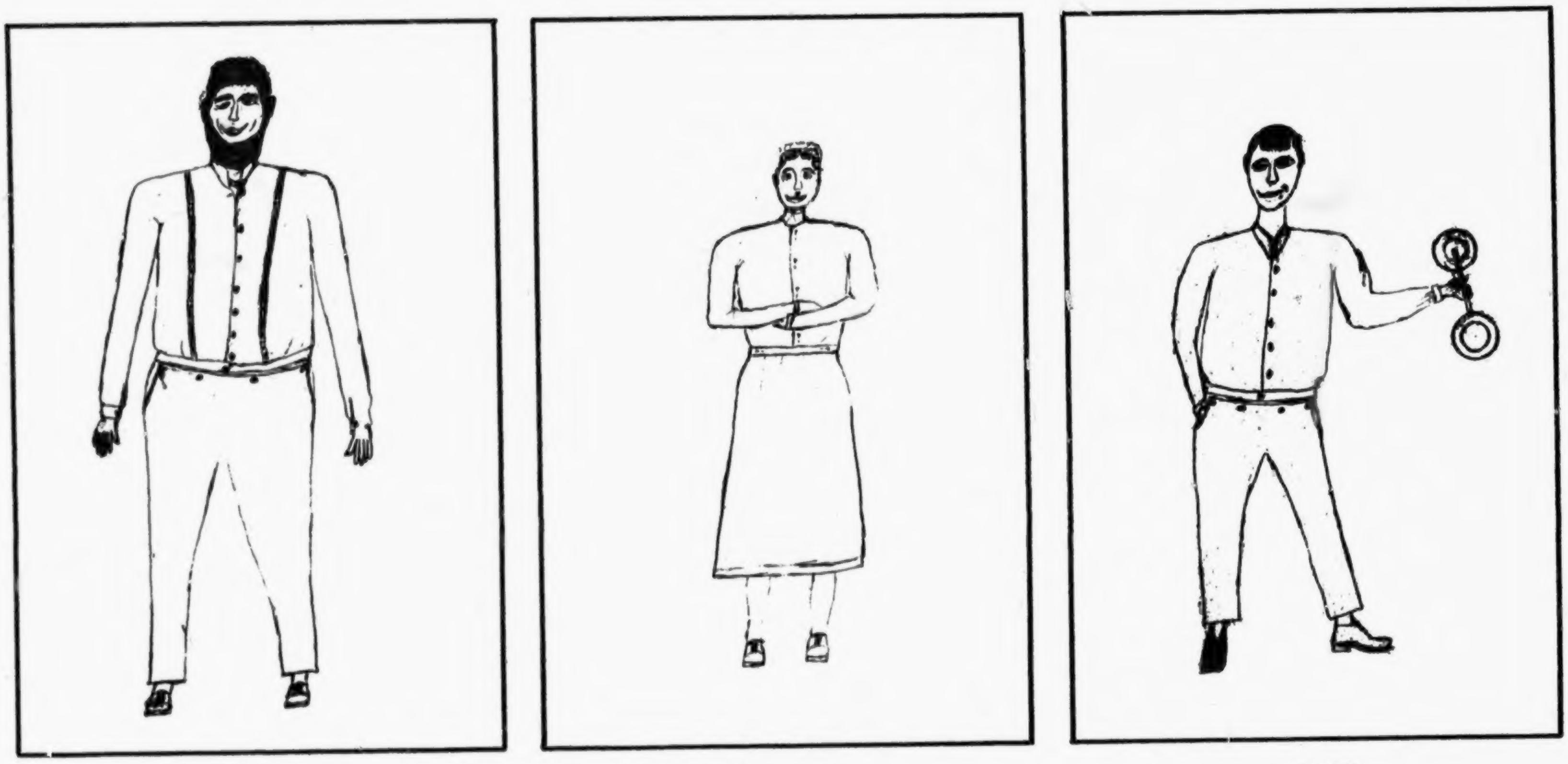
Man Woman Self

Fig. 8. Drawing by boy age 12. Private school.



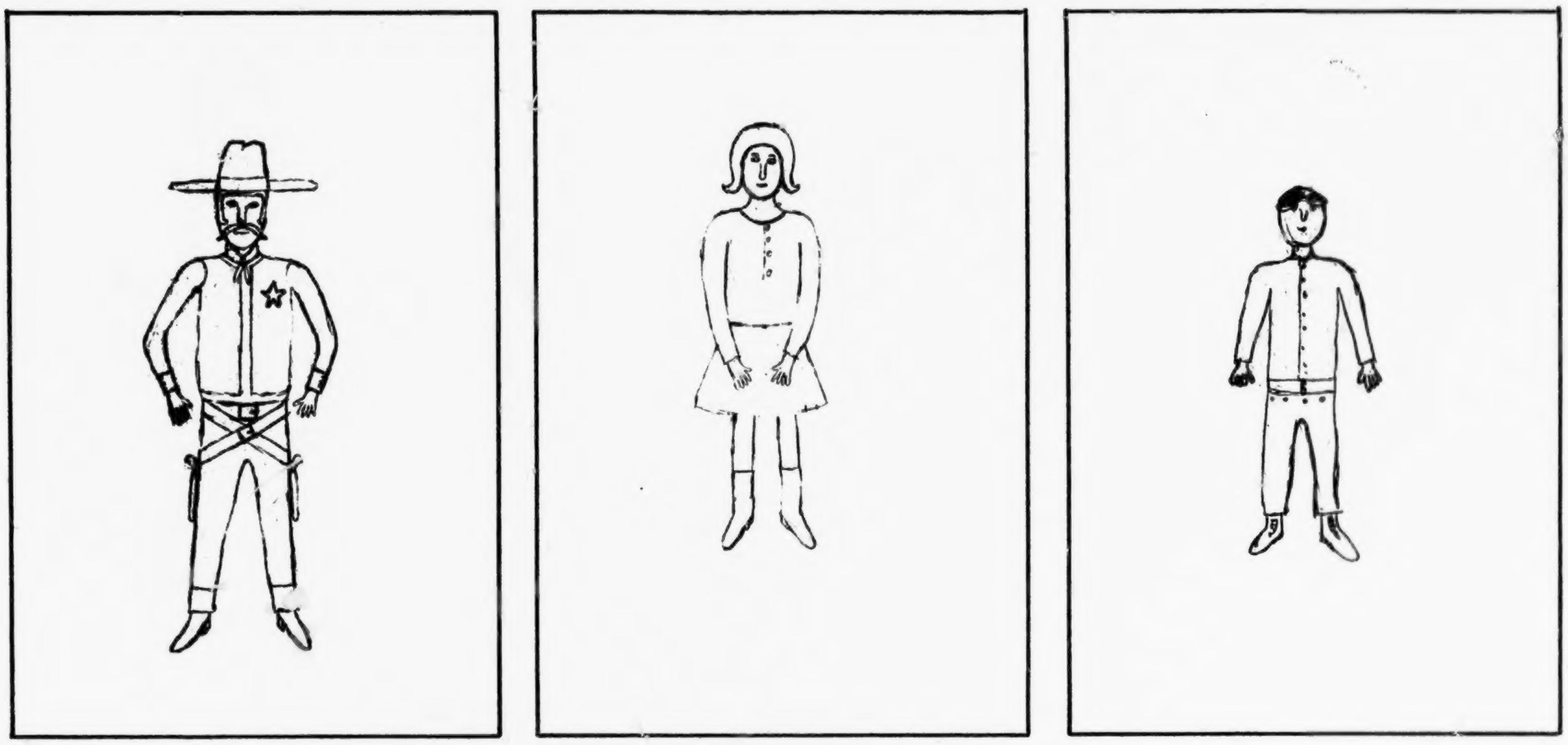
Man Woman Self

Fig. 9. Drawing by boy age 12. Private school.



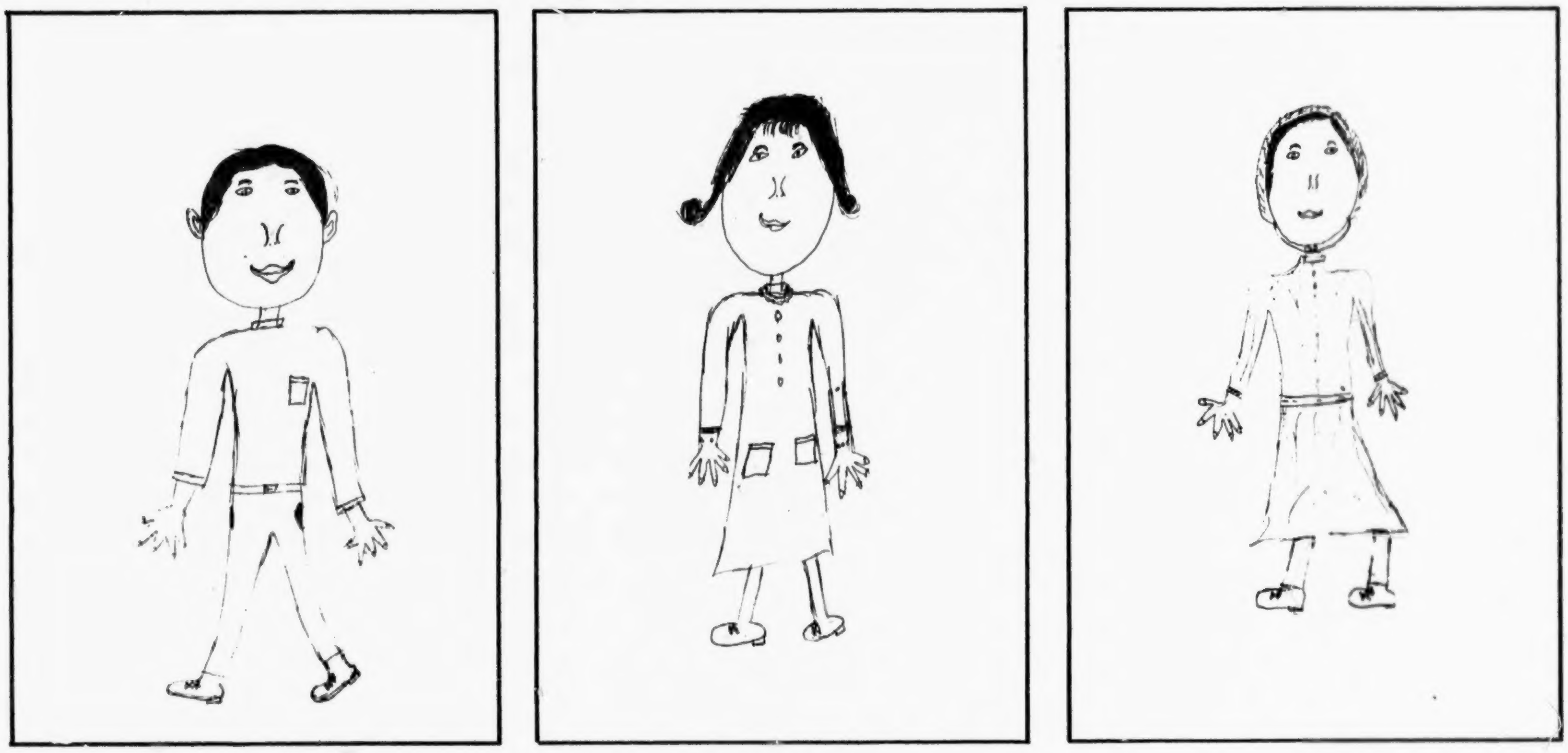
Man Woman Self

Fig. 10. Drawing by boy age 15. Private school.



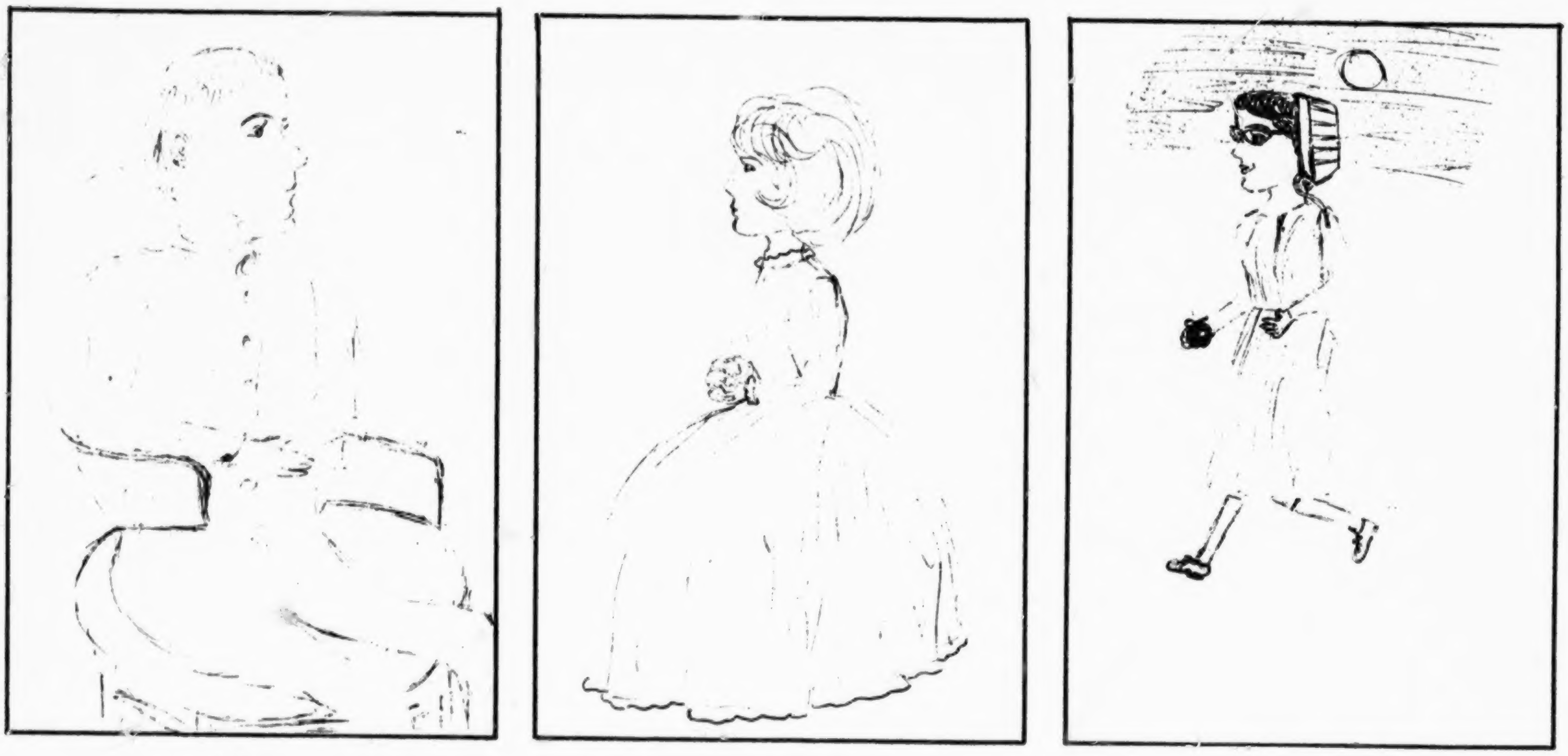
Man Woman Self

Fig. 11. Drawing by boy age 12. Public school.



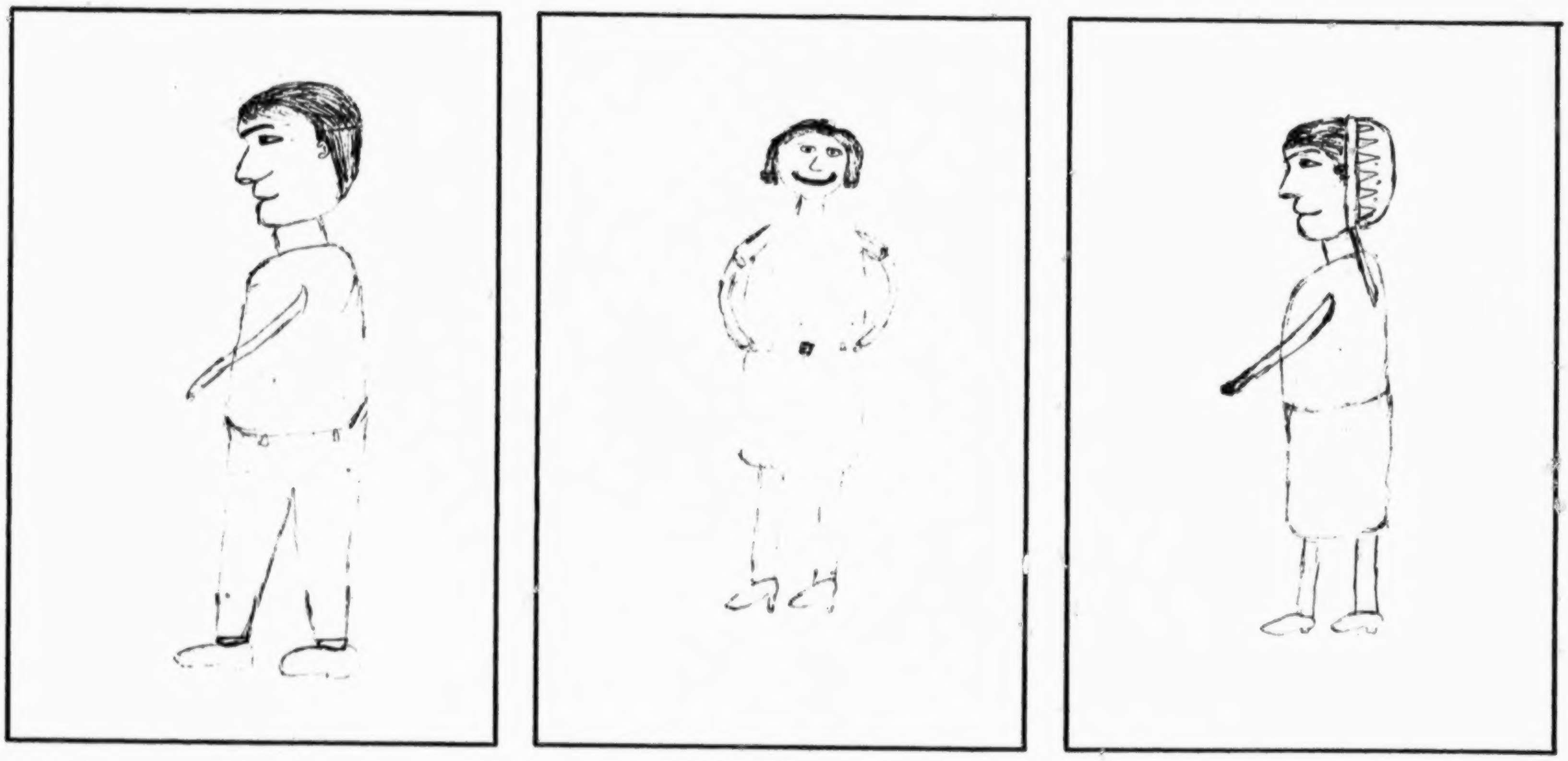
Man Woman Self

Fig. 12. Drawing by girl age 12. Public school.



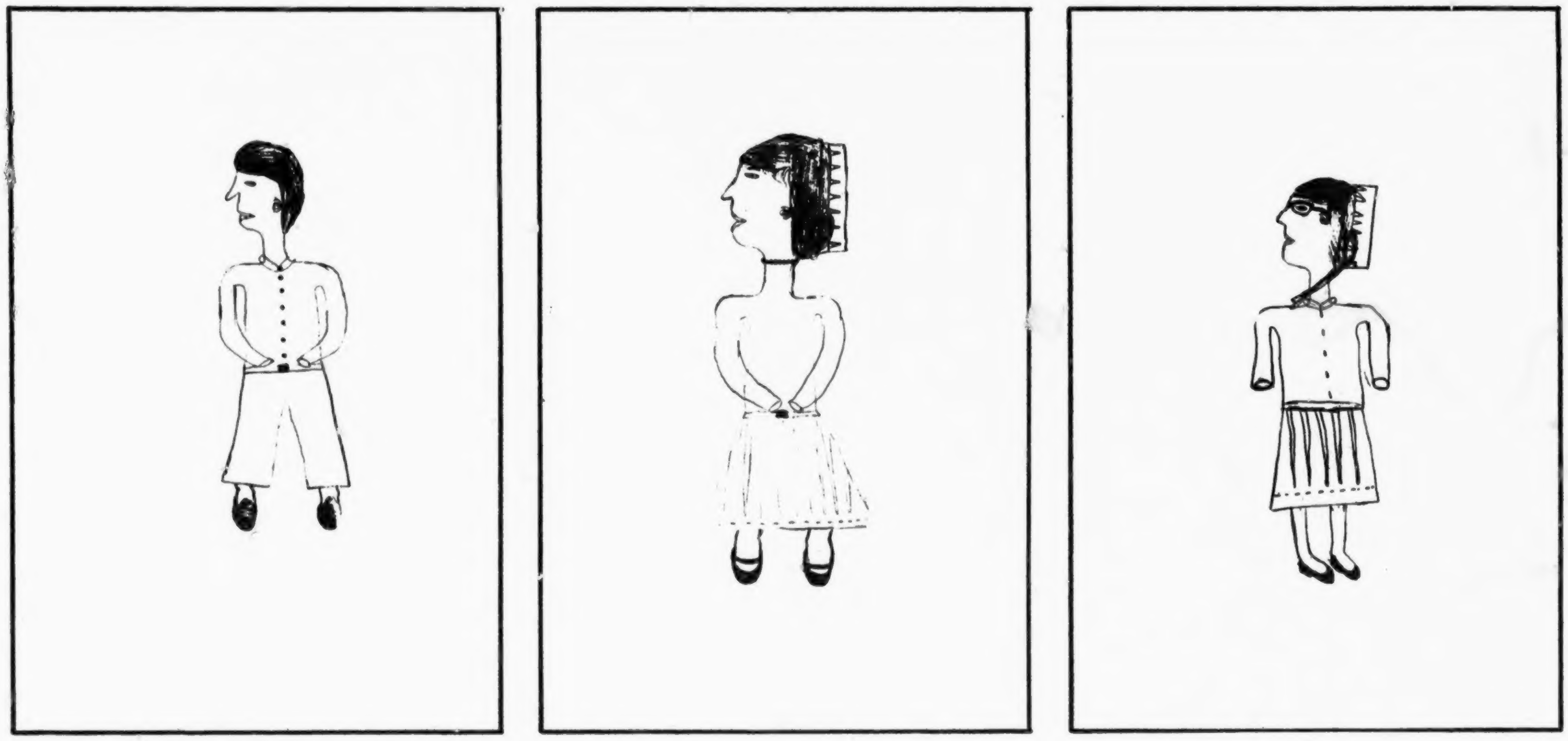
Man Woman Self

Fig. 13. Drawing by girl age 12. Public school.



Man Woman Self

Fig. 14. Drawing by girl age 13. Public school.

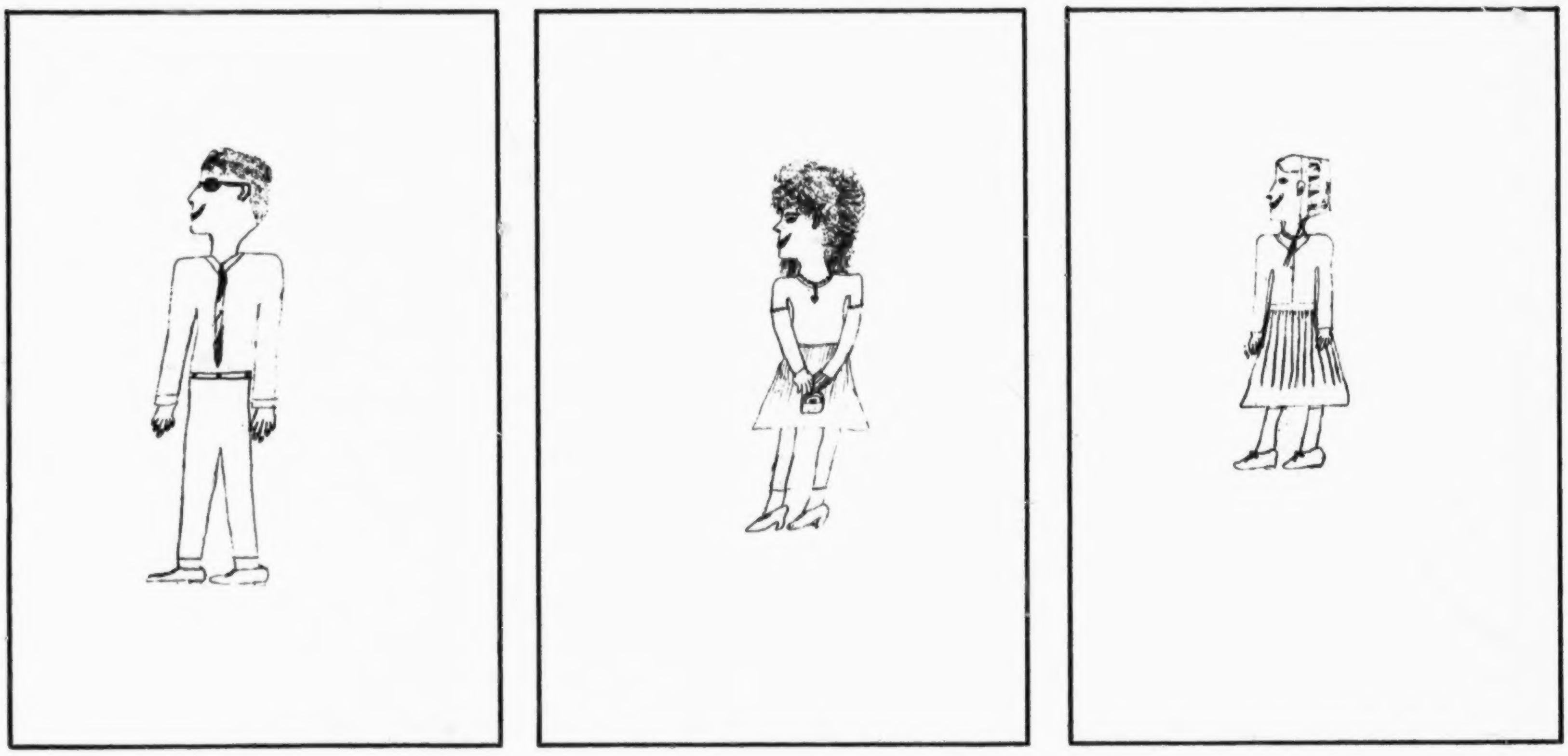


Man

Woman

Self

Fig. 15. Drawing by girl age 14. Public school.

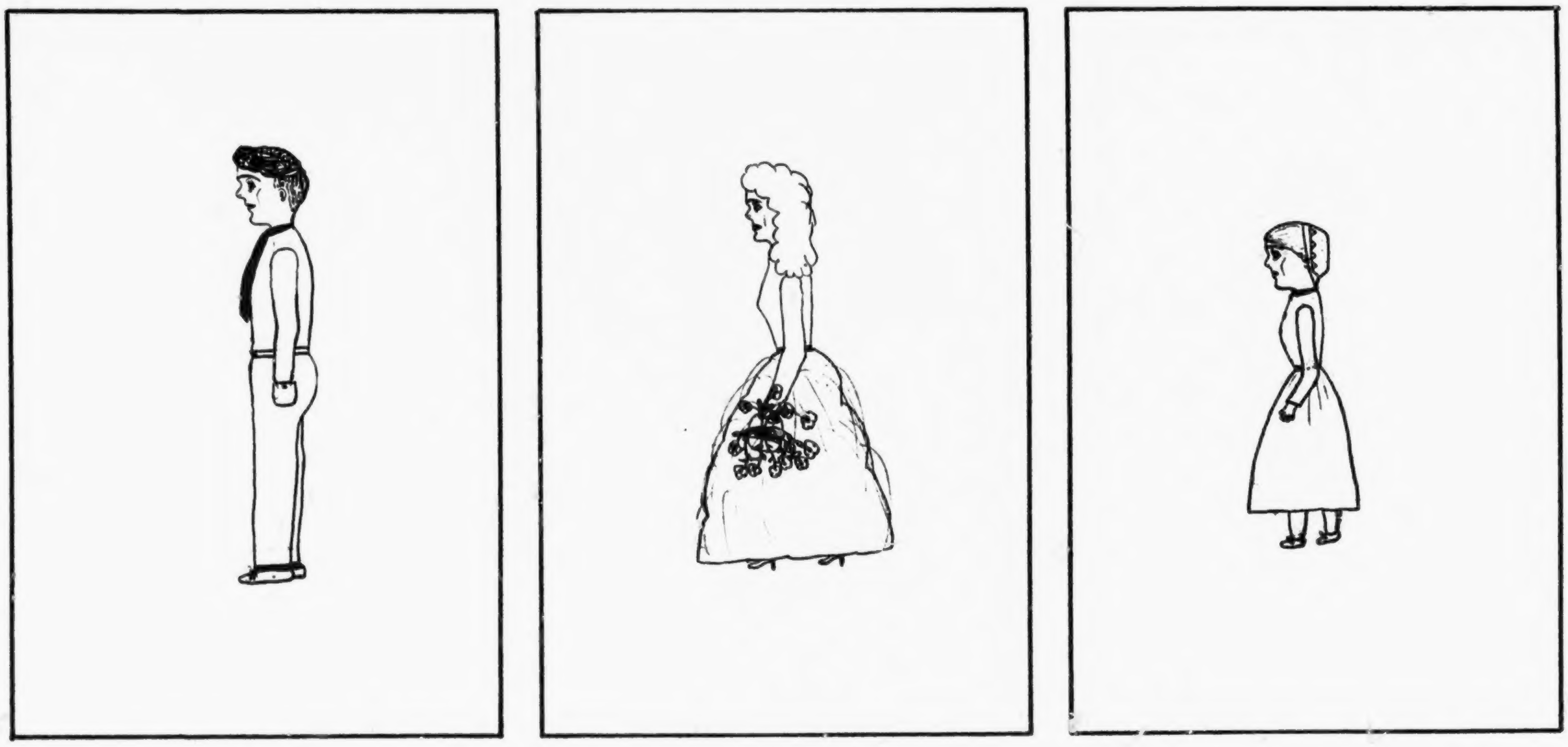


Man

Woman

Self

Fig. 16. Drawing by girl age 14. Public school.

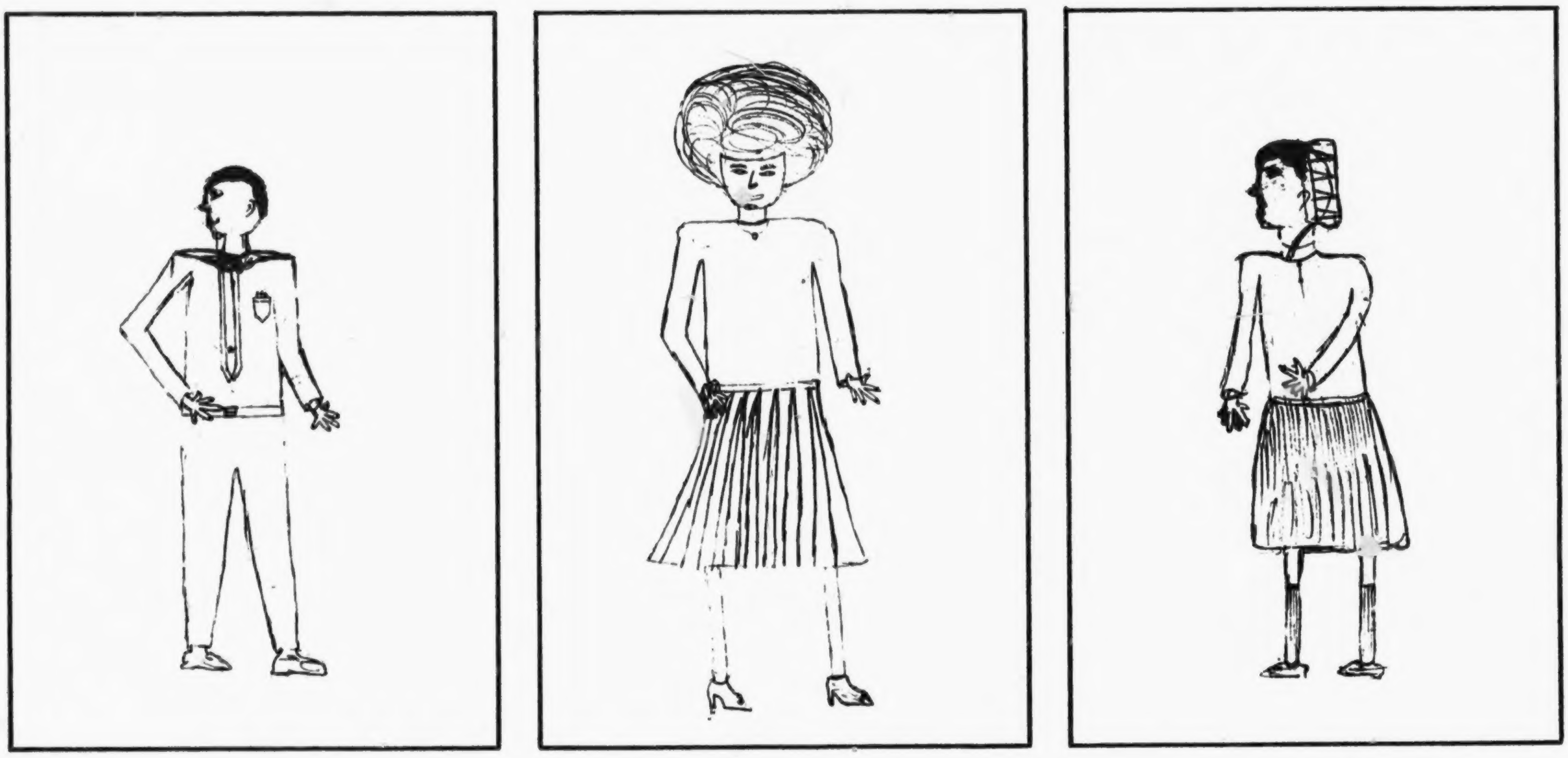


Man

Woman

Self

Fig. 17. Drawing by girl age 13. Public school.

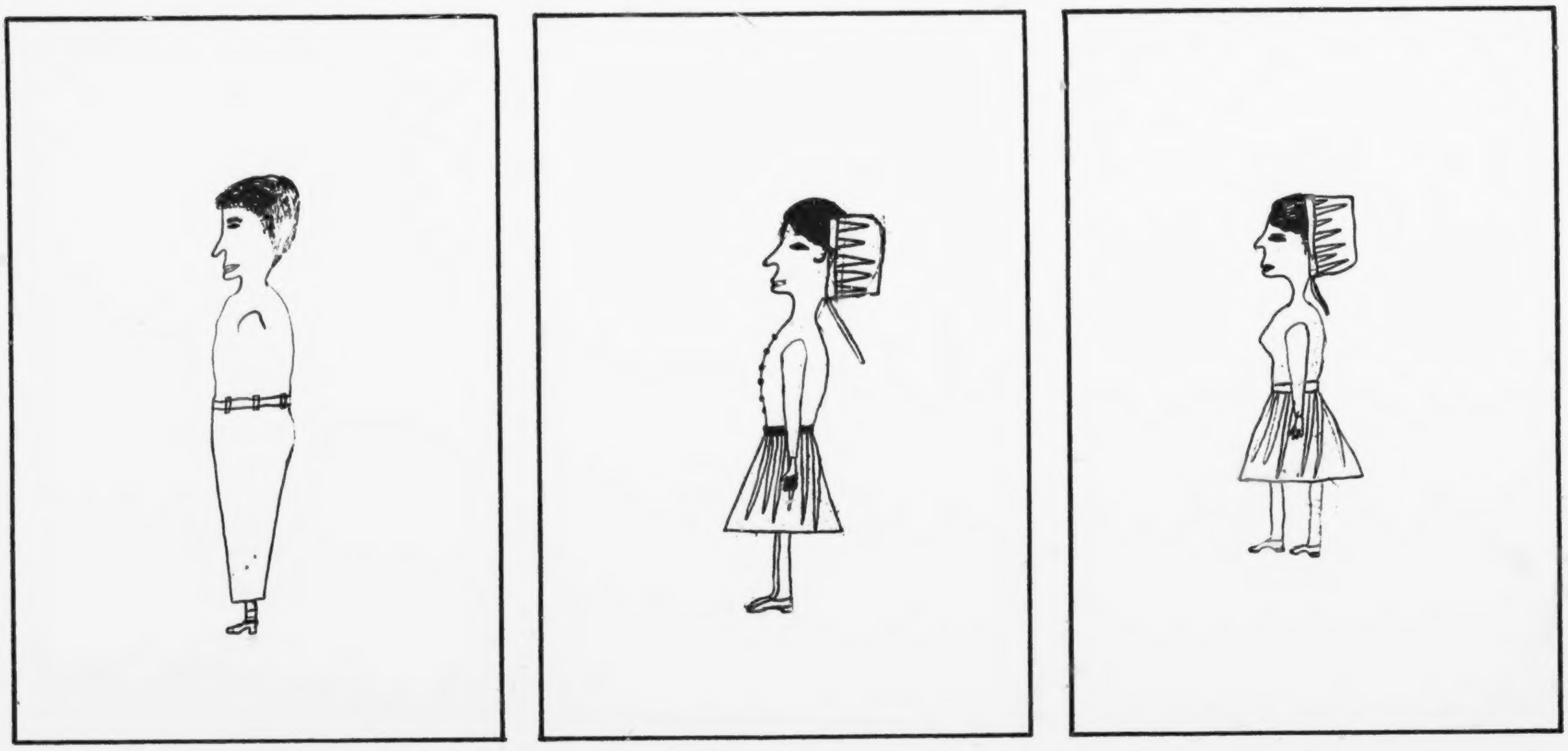


Man

Woman

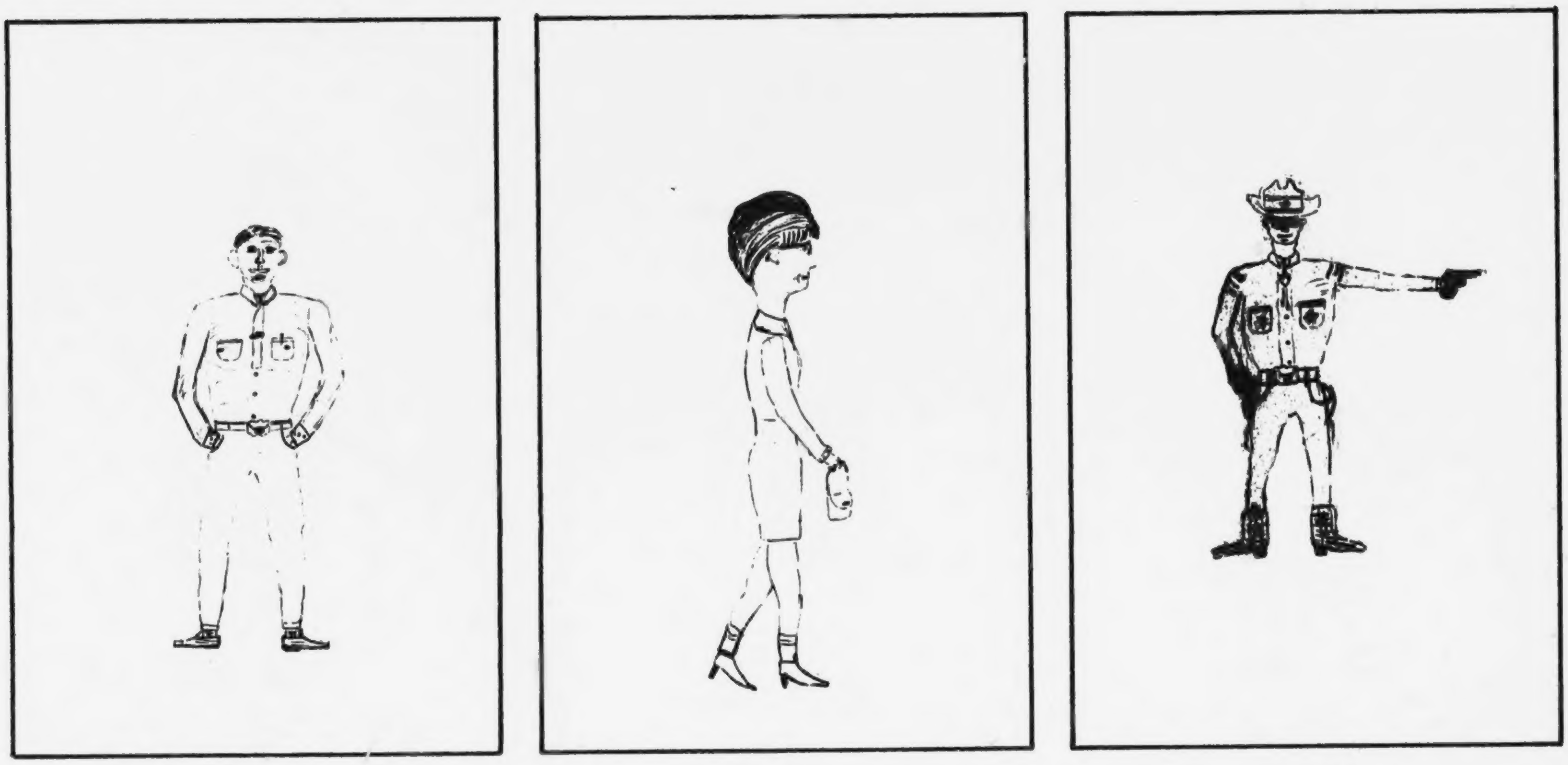
Self

Fig. 18. Drawing by girl age ~~18.~~ 13 Public school.



Man Woman Self

Fig. 19. Drawing by girl age 15. Public school.



Man Woman Self

Fig. 20. Drawing by boy age 14. Public school.

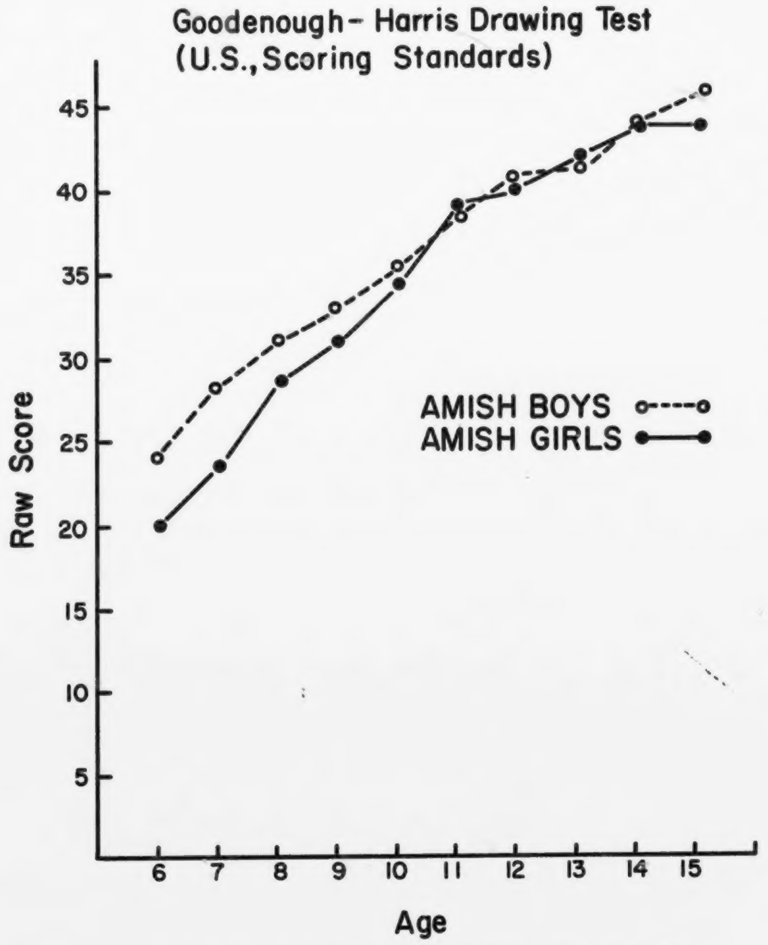


Figure 21. Raw score means of Amish boys and girls, Goodenough-Harris man drawing

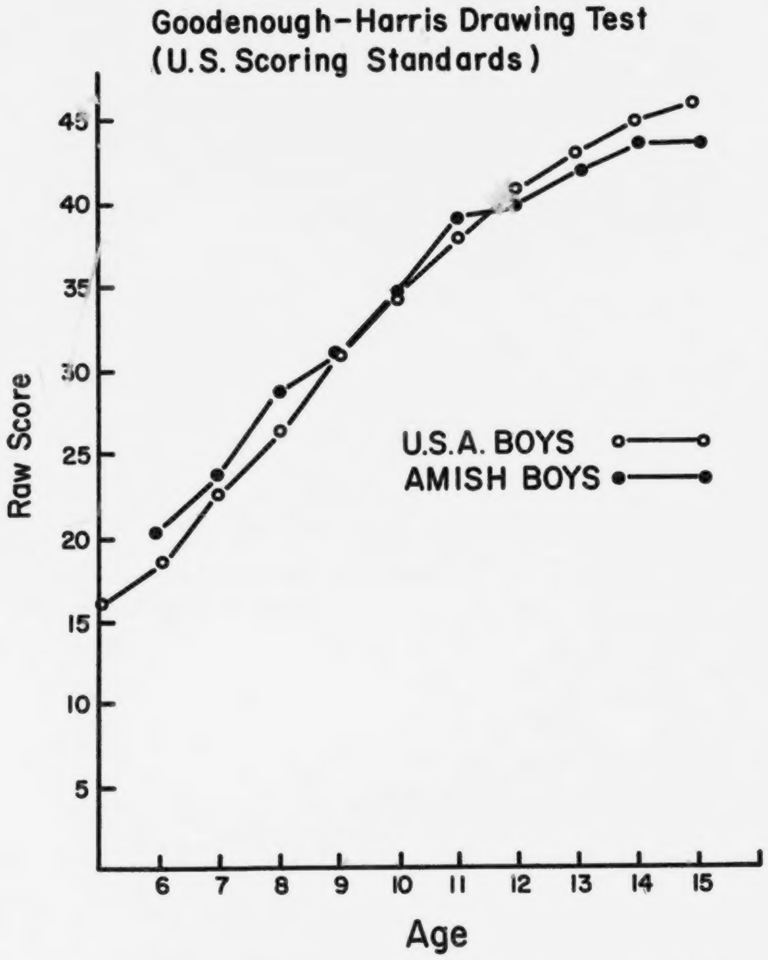


Figure 22. Raw score means of Amish boys and U. S. A. norm for boys, Goodenough-Harris man drawing

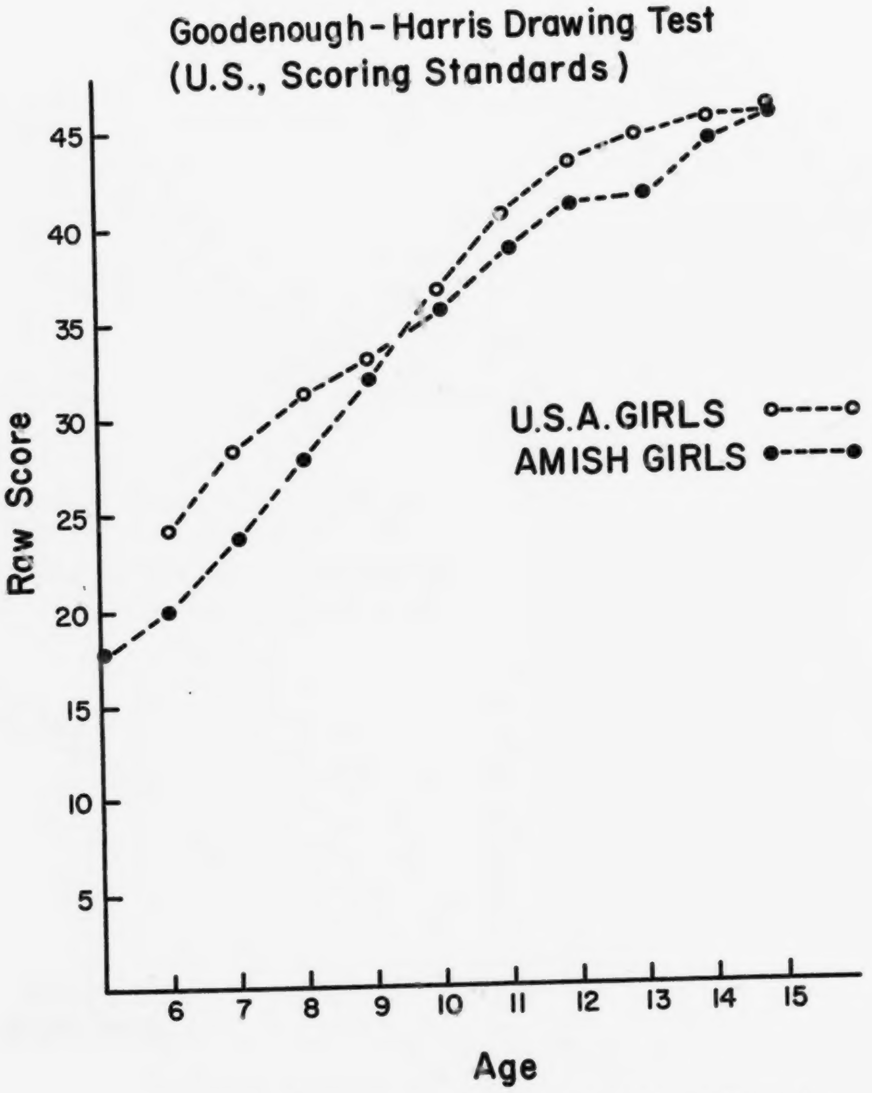


Figure 23. Raw score means of Amish girls and U. S. A. norm for girls, Goodenough-Harris man drawing

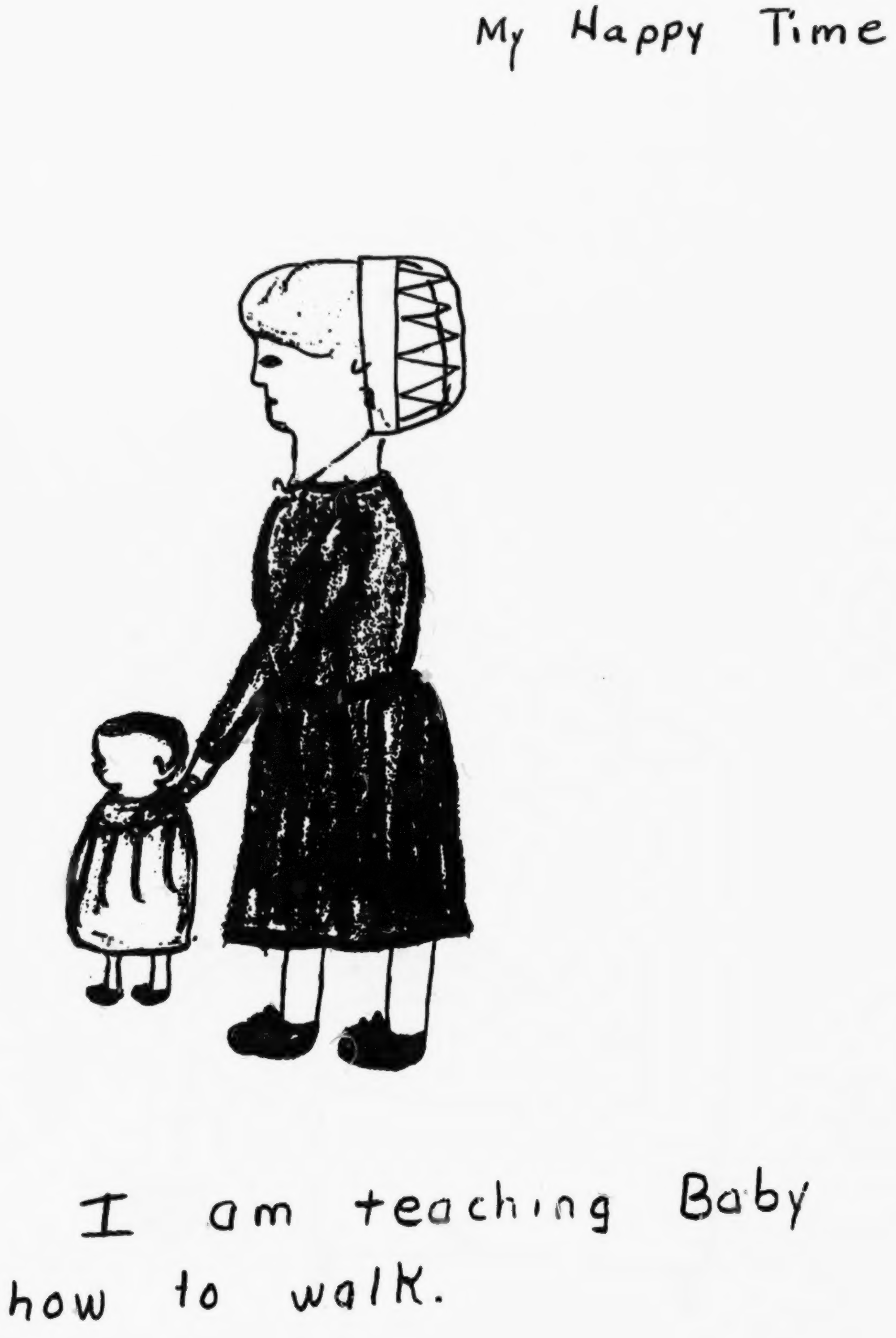

My Happy Time
I am teaching Baby how to walk.

Figure 24. My happy time by girl age 10.

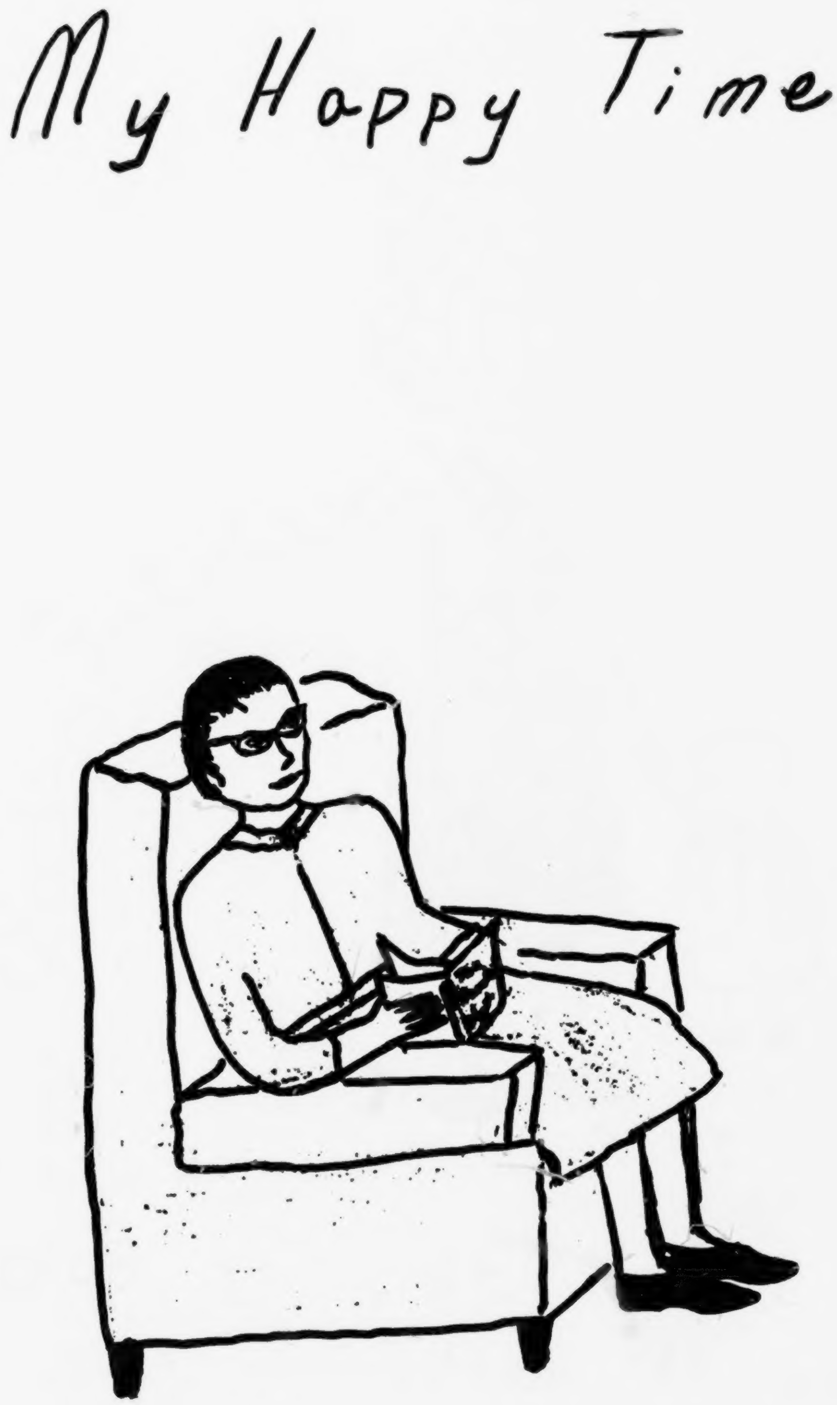
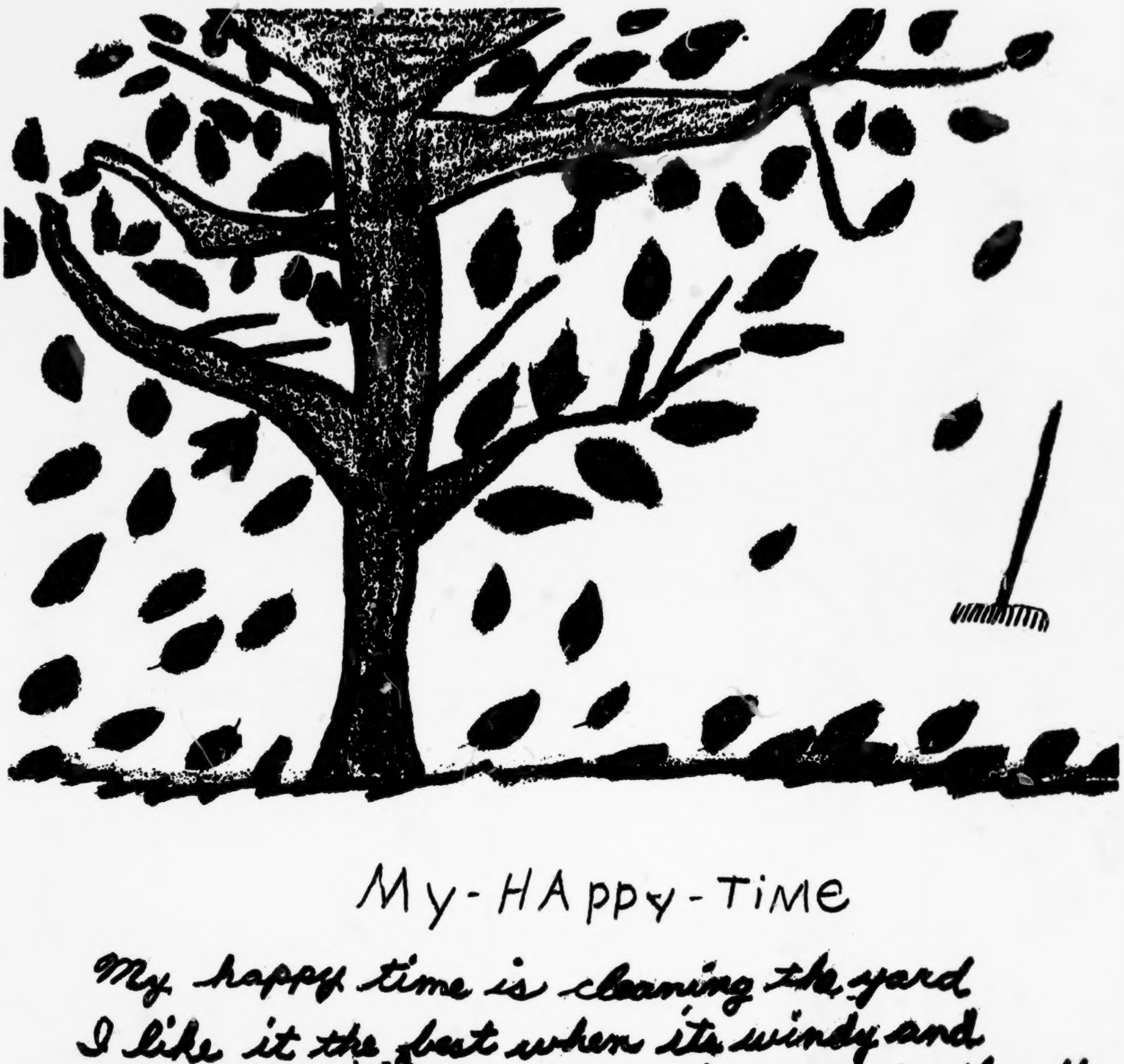

My Happy Time

Figure 25. My happy time by girl age 13.



My-HAppy-TiMe

My happy time is cleaning the yard
I like it the best when its windy and
you have a hard time to keep the leaves together then
you can run after them and catch them thats
the most fun of all.

Figure 26. My happy time by girl age 14.

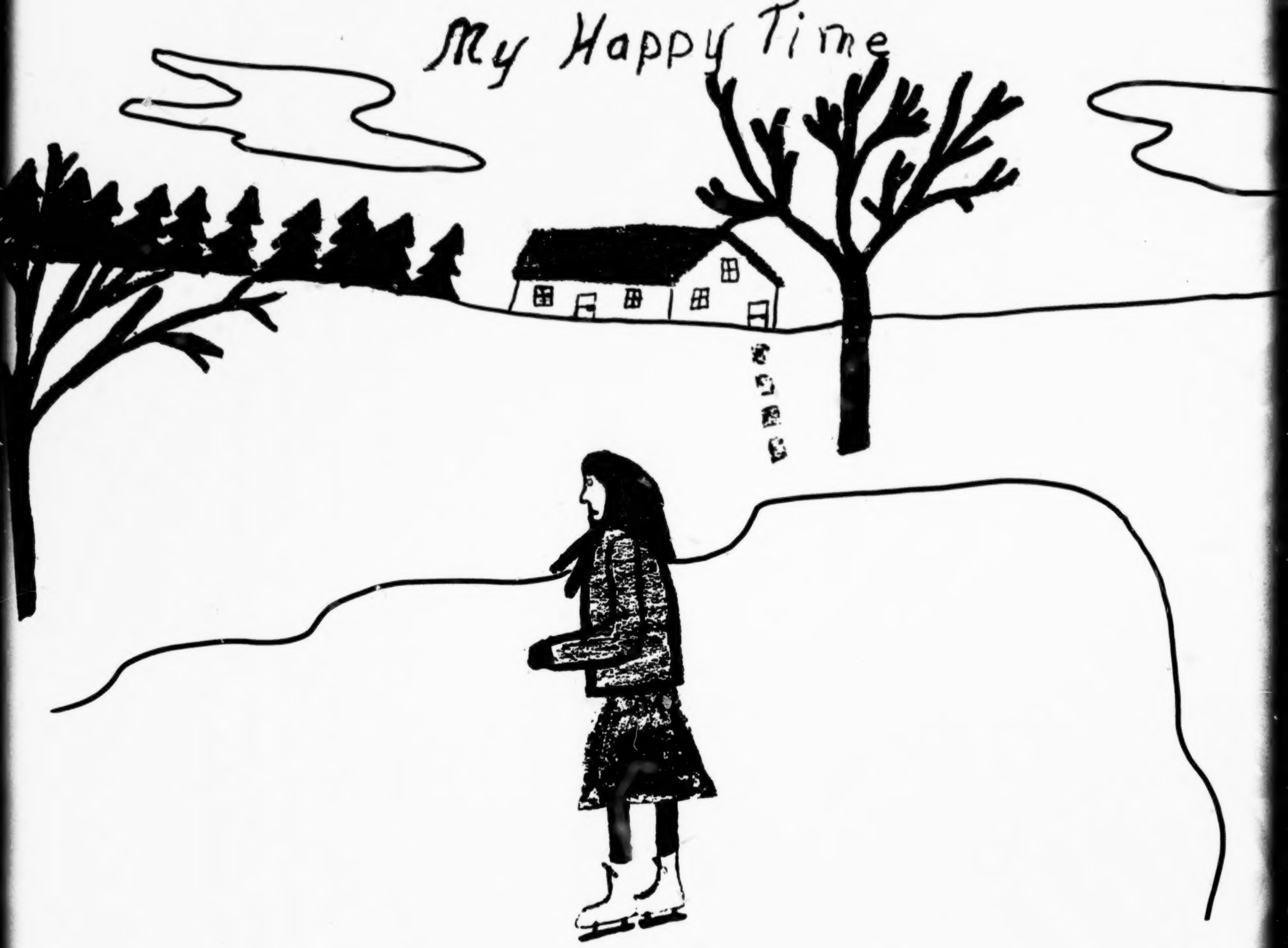

My Happy Time

Figure 27. My happy time by girl age 13.

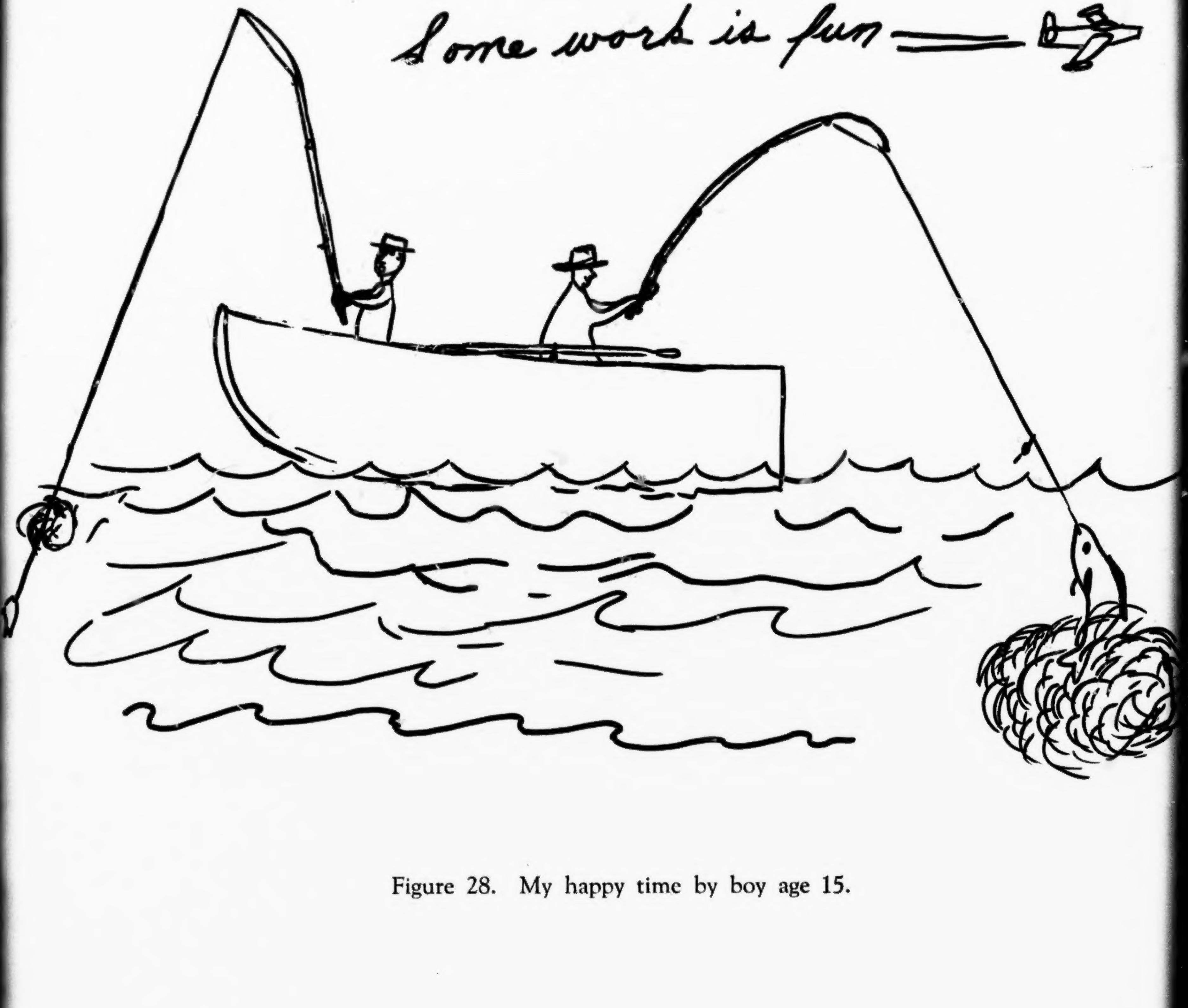

Some work is fun

Figure 28. My happy time by boy age 15.

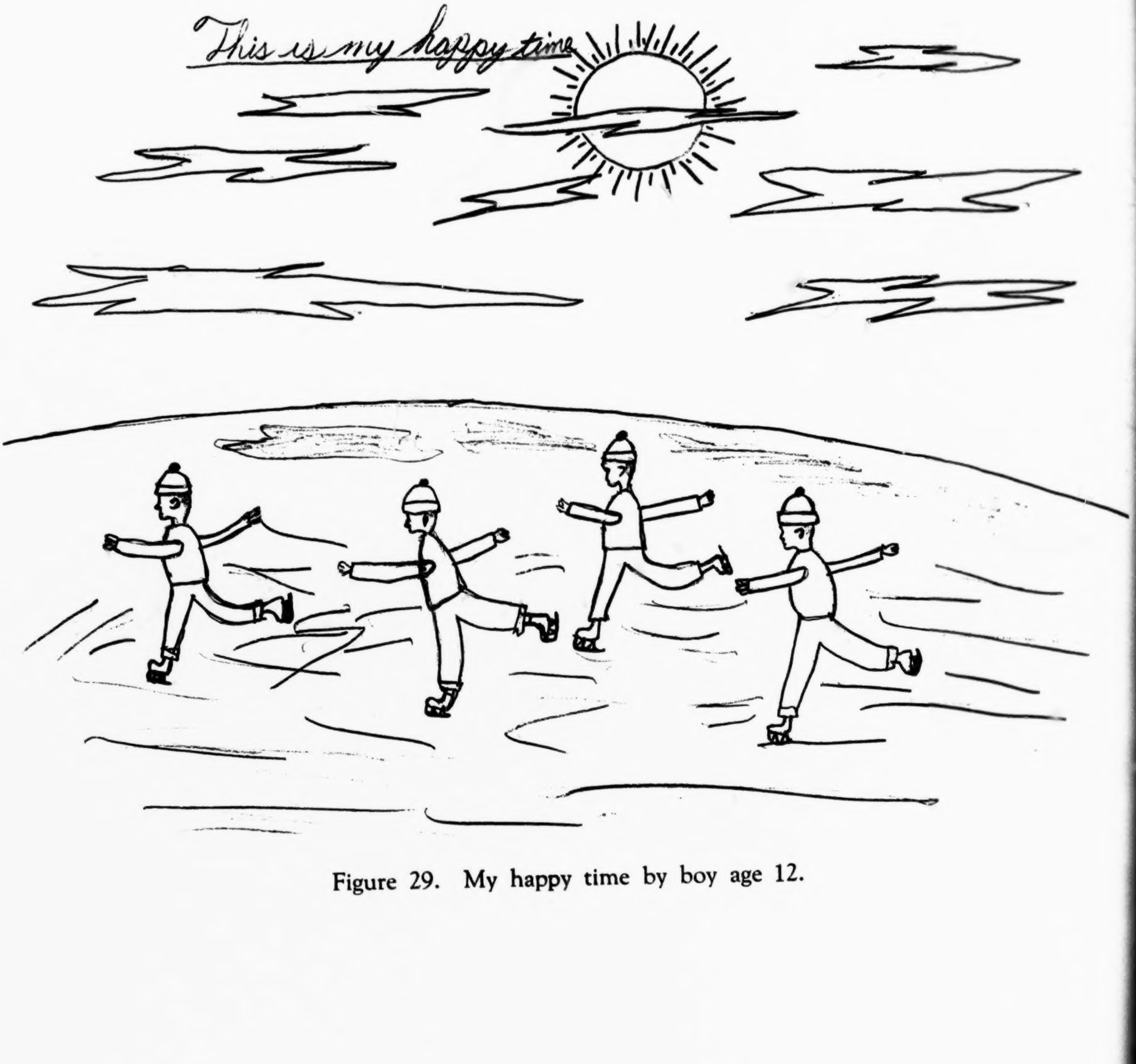
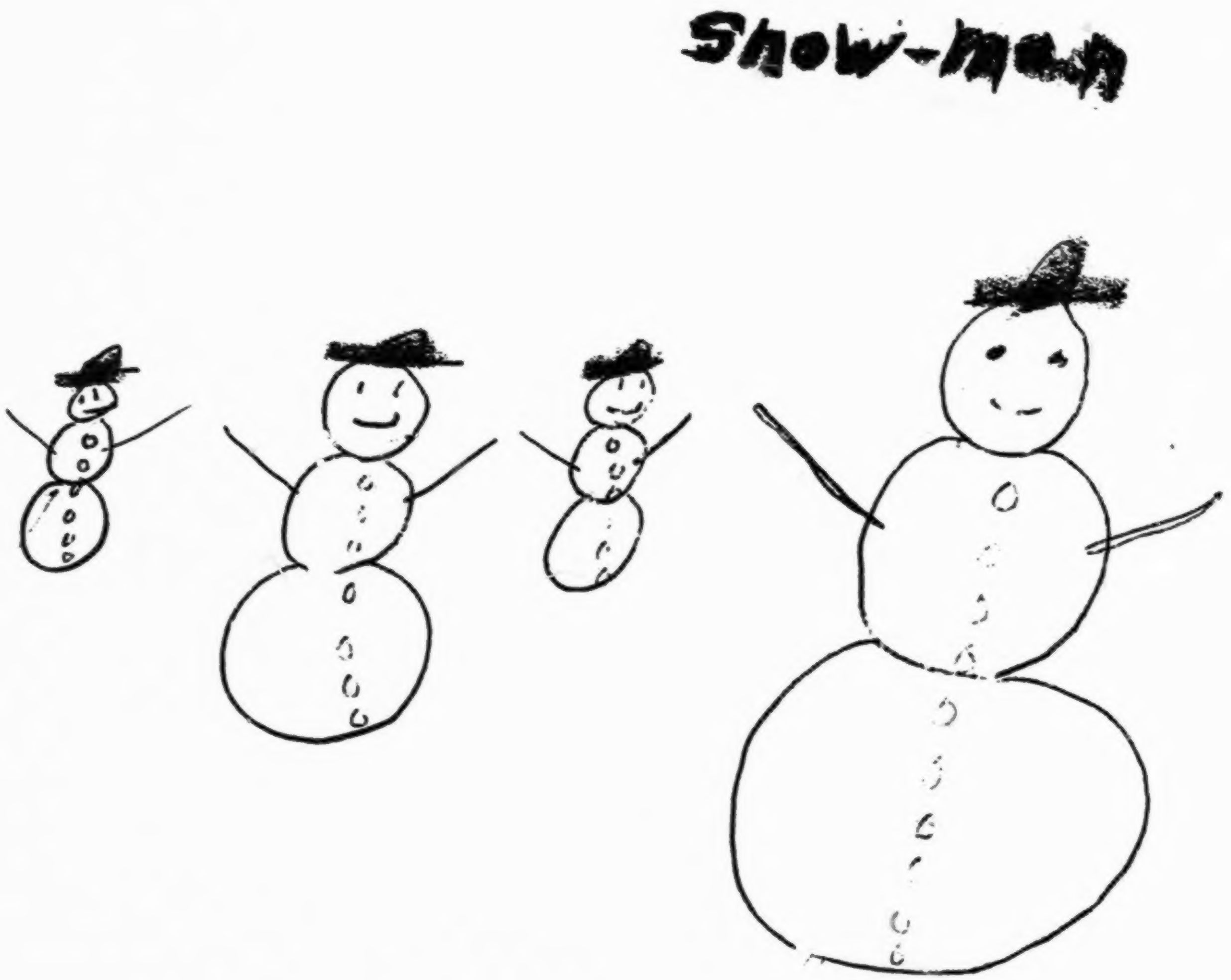

This is my happy time

Figure 29. My happy time by boy age 12.



What I like about
a snowman, we can make
a snowman woman and
snowman children.
Sometimes we can crawl up
on them and we can play that
they are our children.

Figure 30. My happy time by girl age 10.

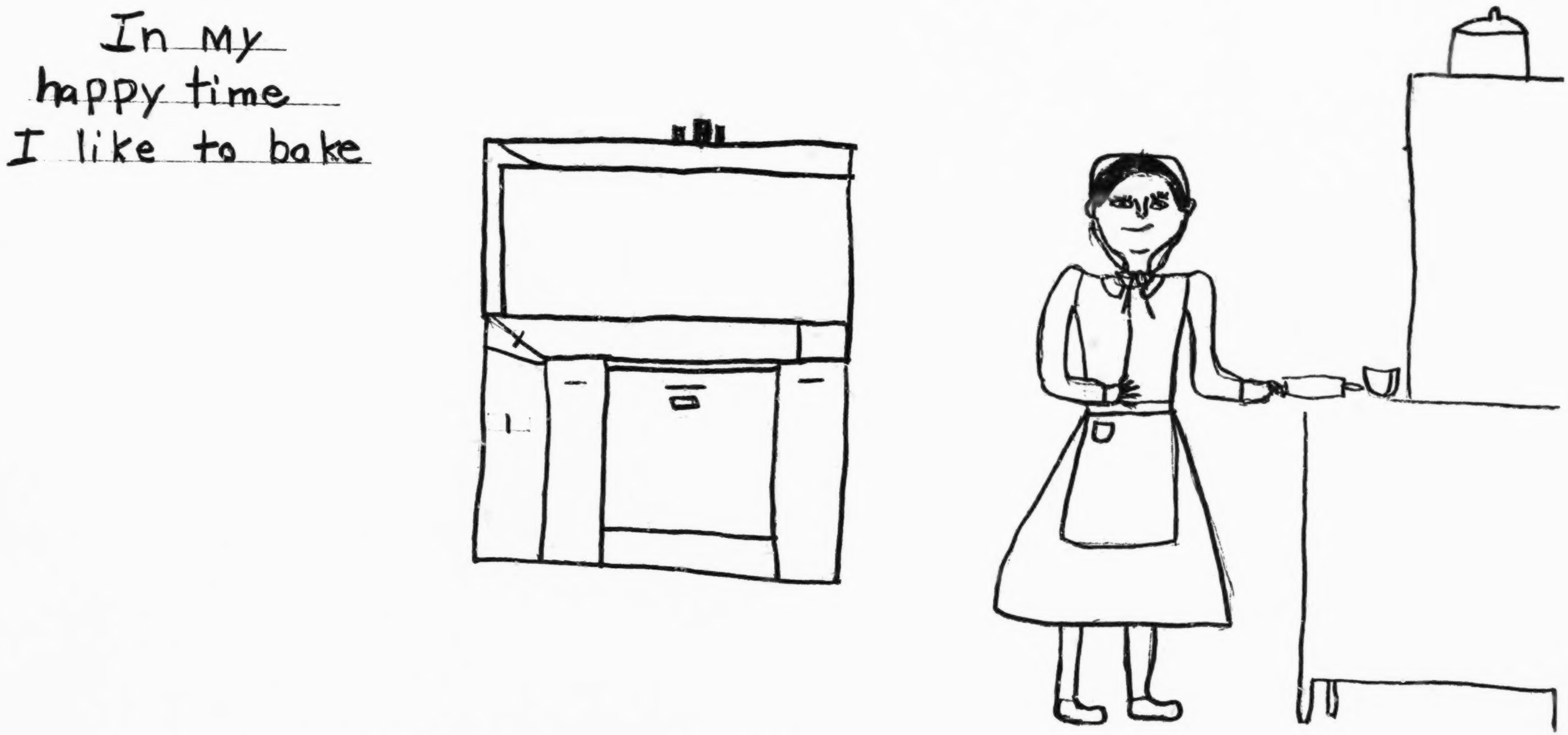
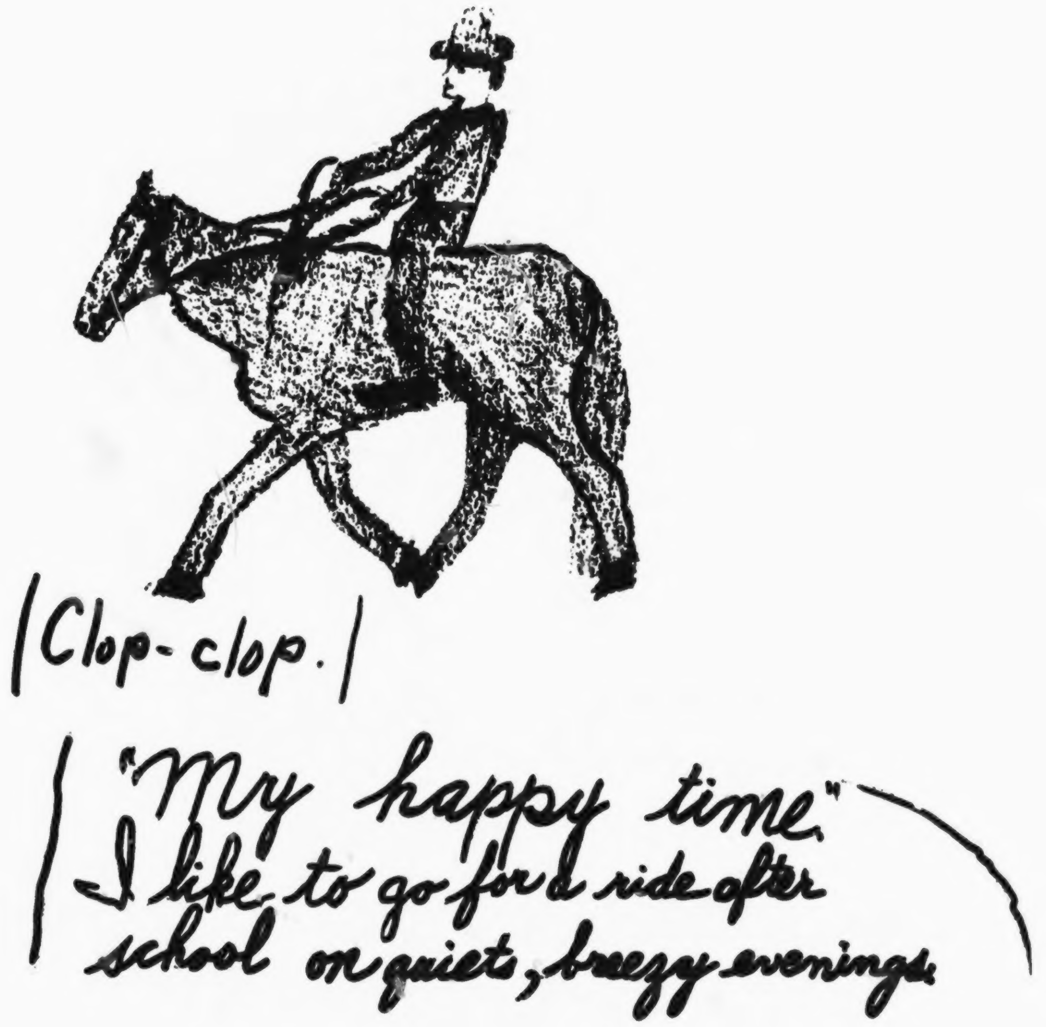

In my
happy time
I like to bake

Figure 31. My happy time by girl age 15.



"My happy time."
I like to go for a ride after school on quiet, breezy evenings.

Figure 32. My happy time by boy age 11.

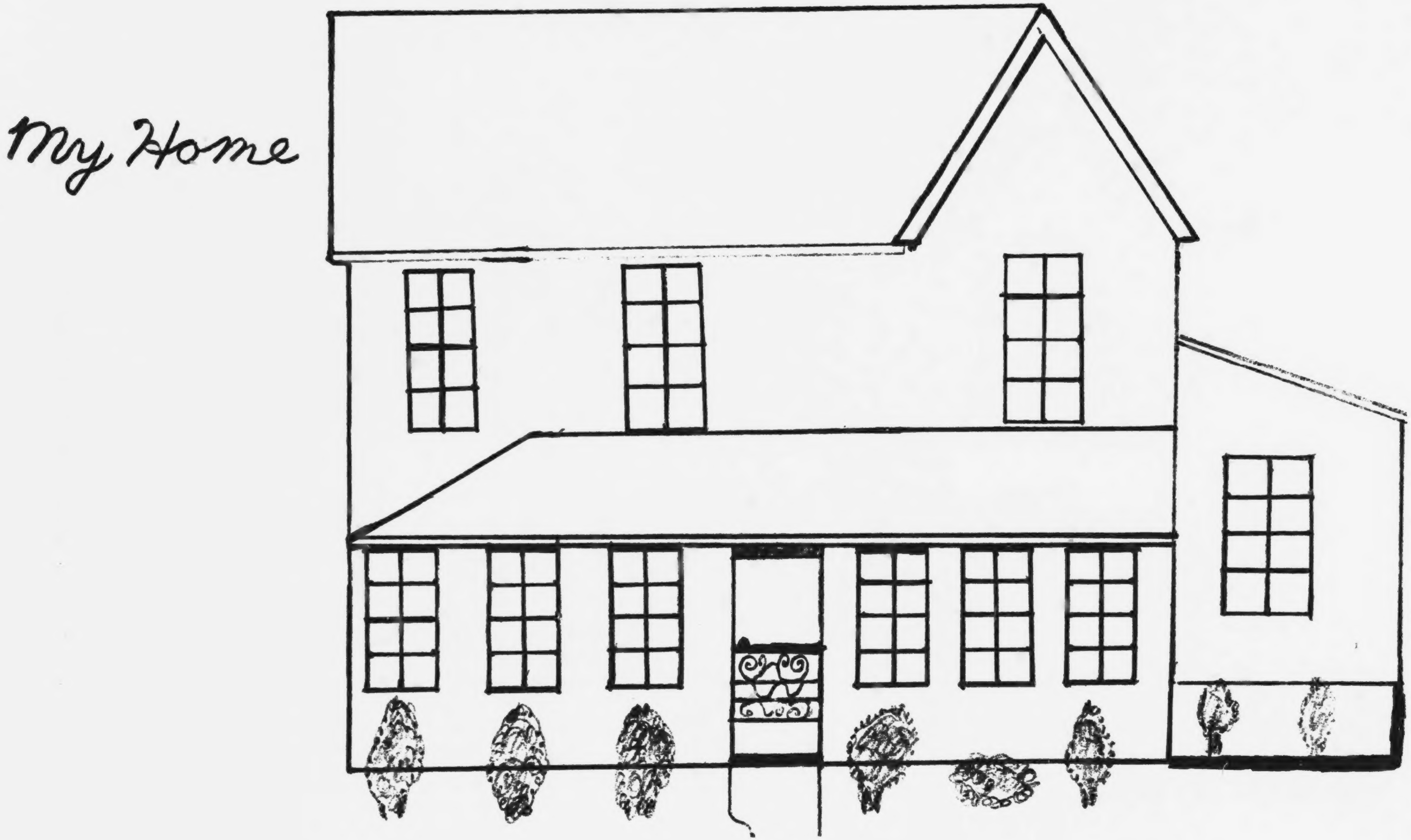


Figure 33. My house by boy age 14.

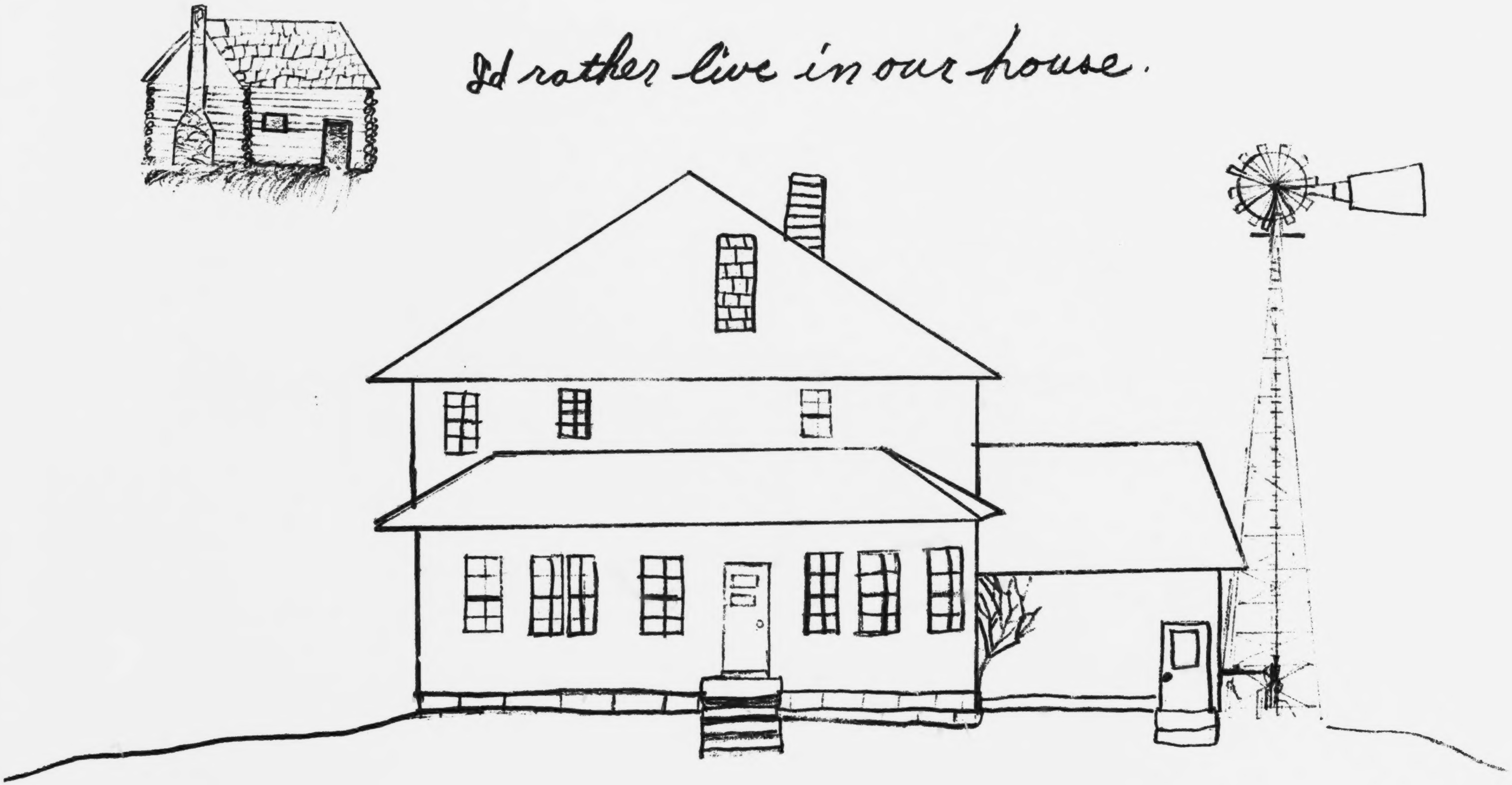

I'd rather live in our house.

Figure 34. My house by boy age 15.

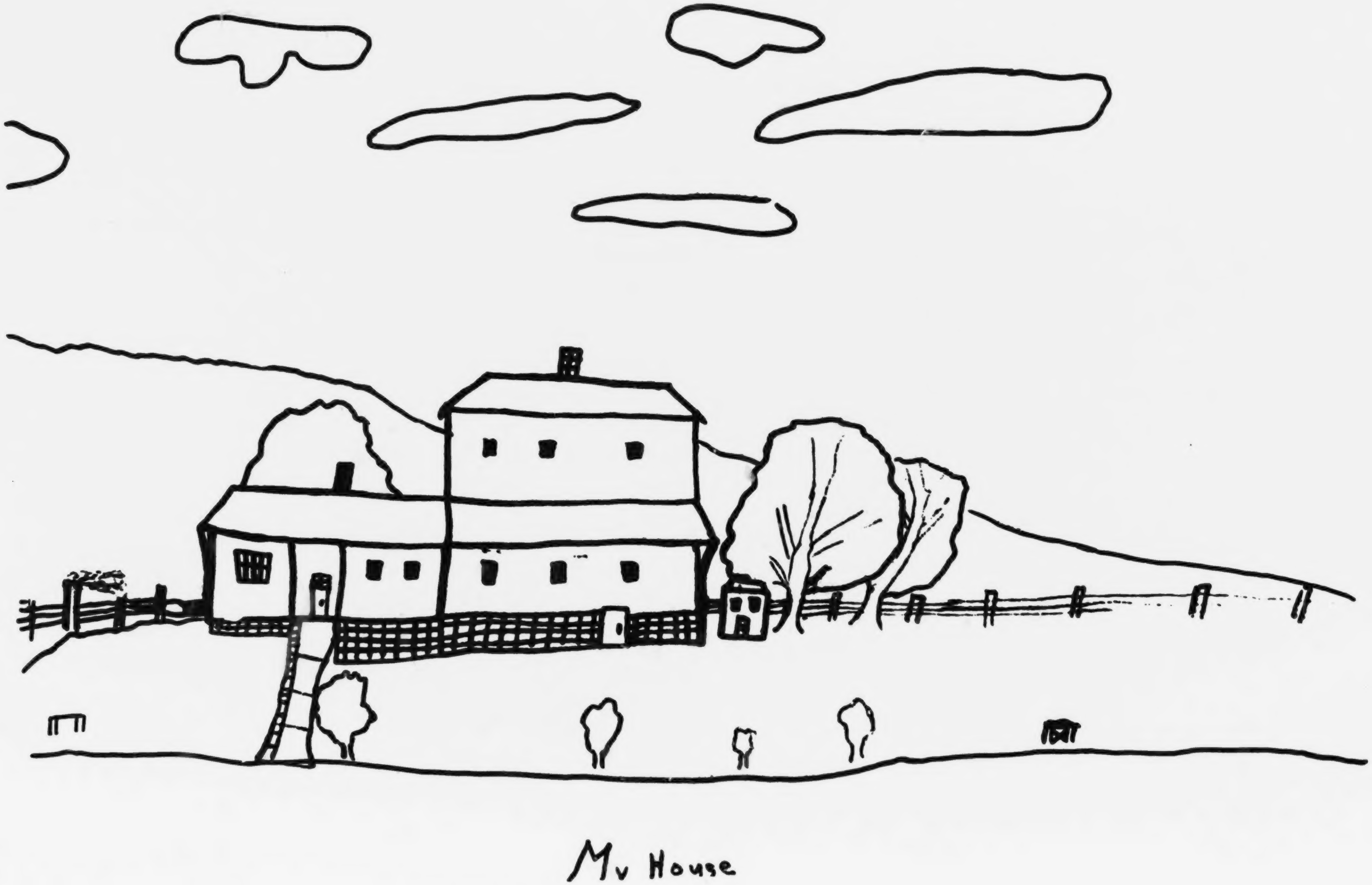


Figure 35. My house by boy age 10.

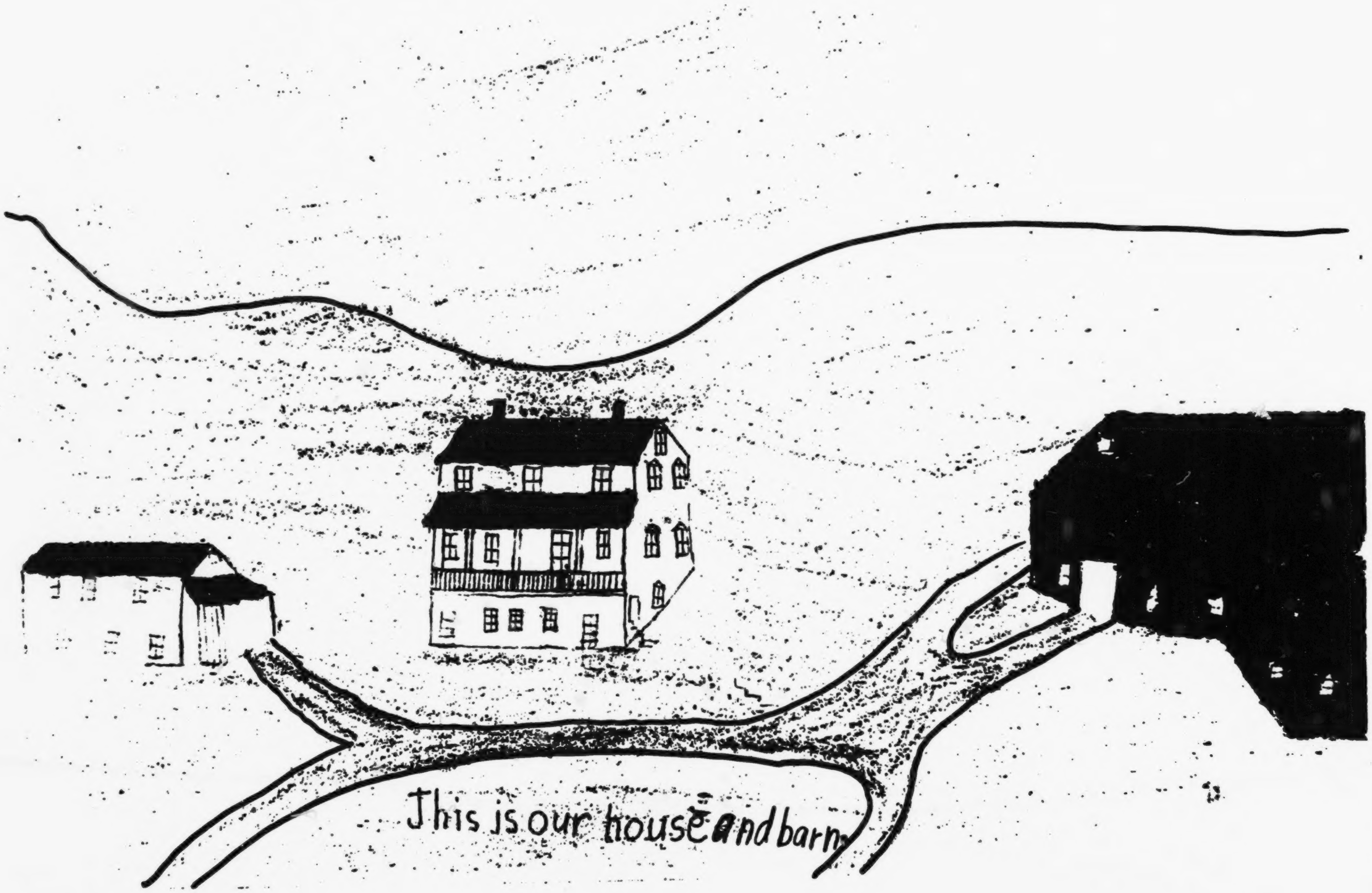
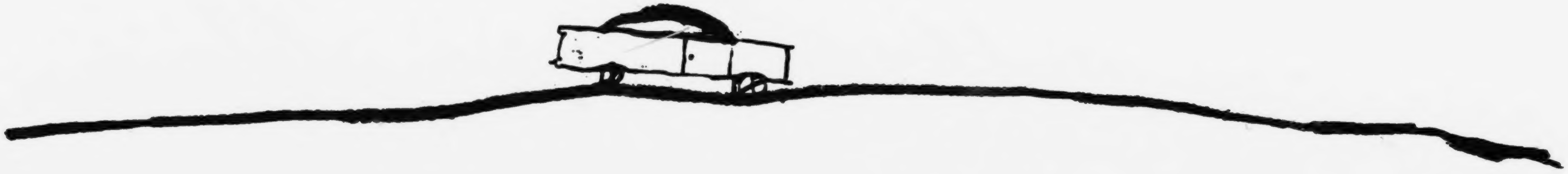
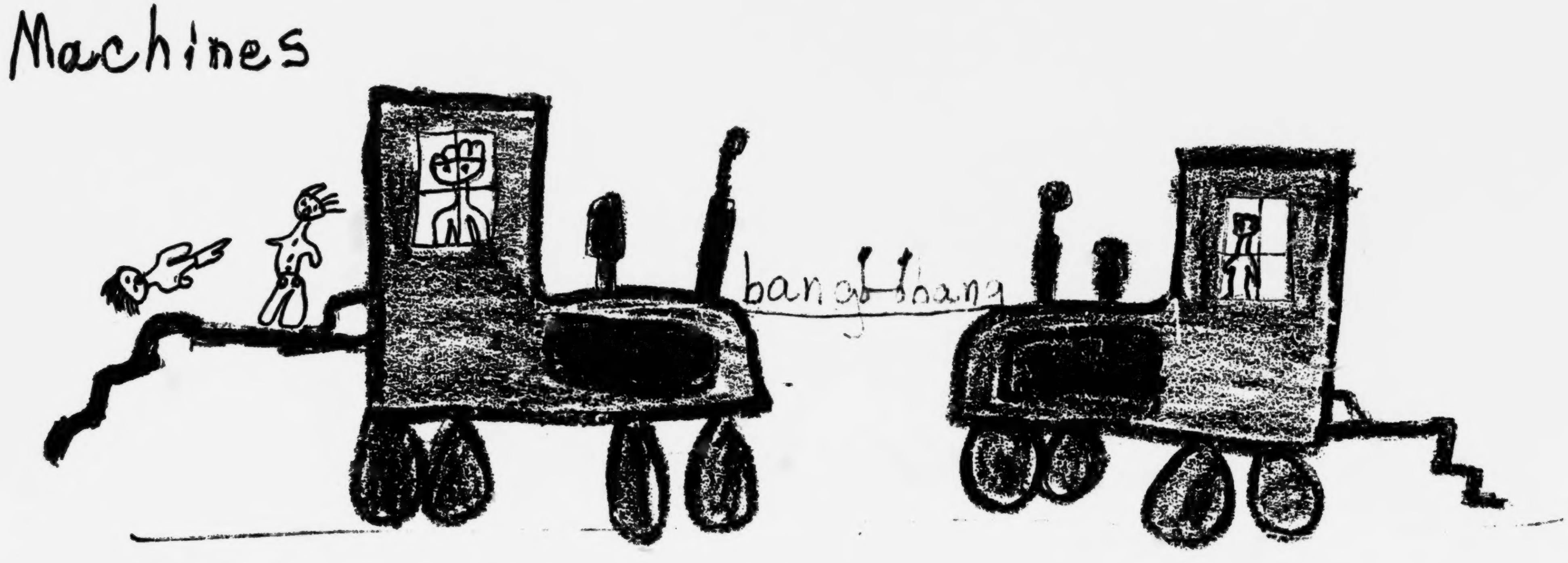

This is our house and barn

Figure 36. My house by boy age 15.



[illegible] is one of the new cars.

Figure 37. Machine by boy age 13.


Machines
bang bang

Those machines are going to bump together, and the boy is going to fall out.

Figure 38. Machine by girl age 8.

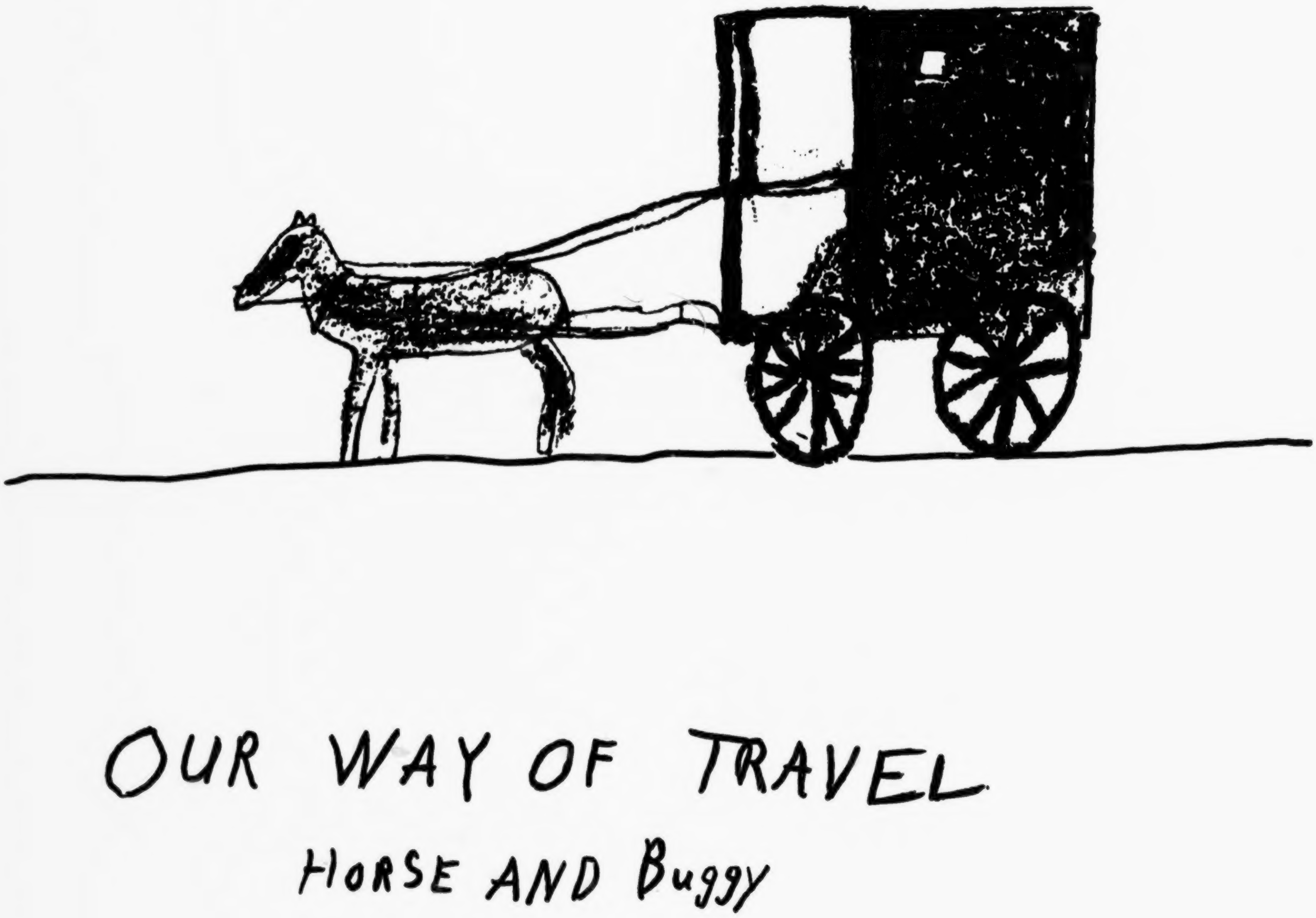

OUR WAY OF TRAVEL
HORSE AND Buggy

Figure 39. Machine by girl age 14.

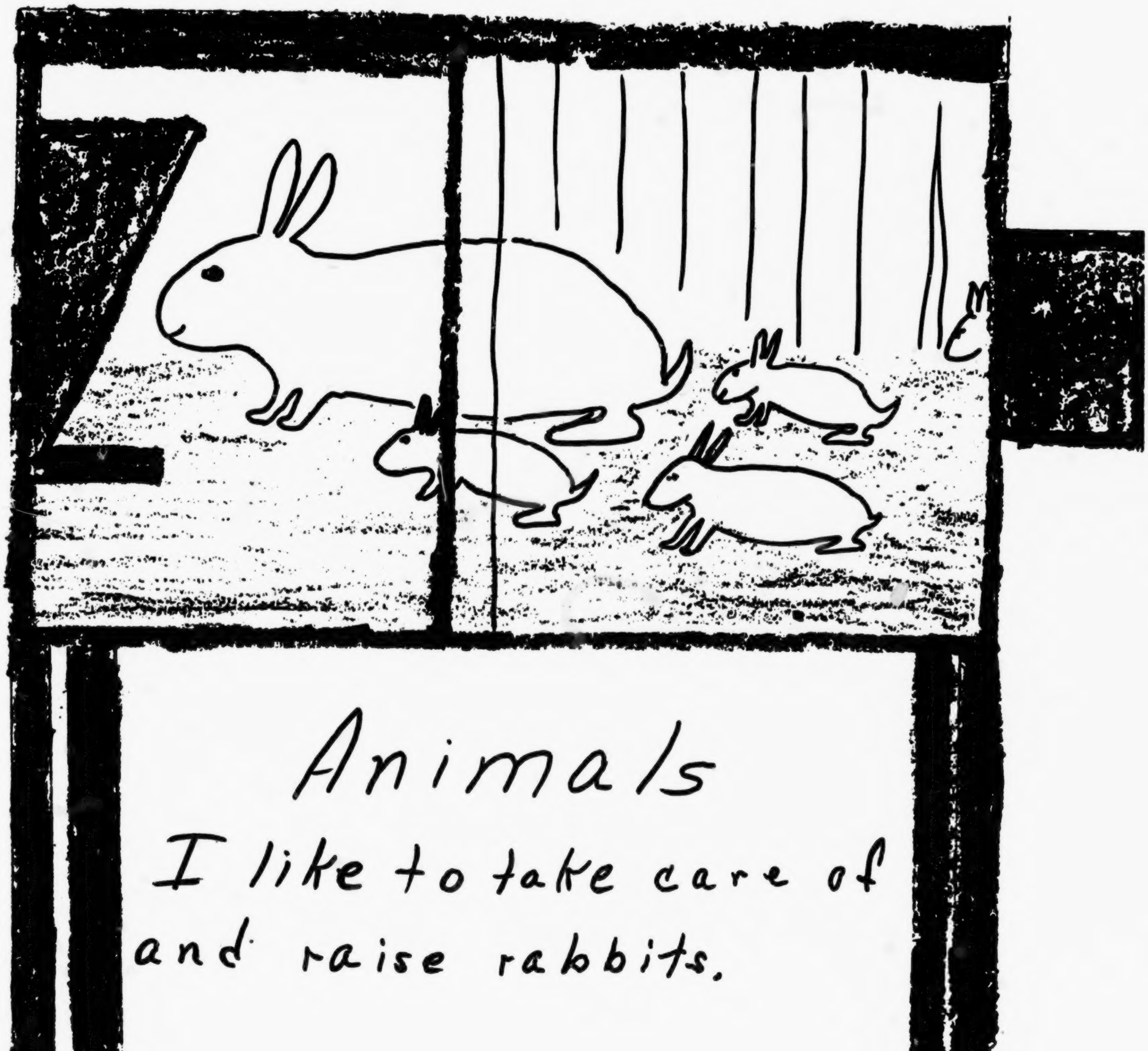

Animals
I like to take care of
and raise rabbits.

Figure 40. Animal by boy age 12.

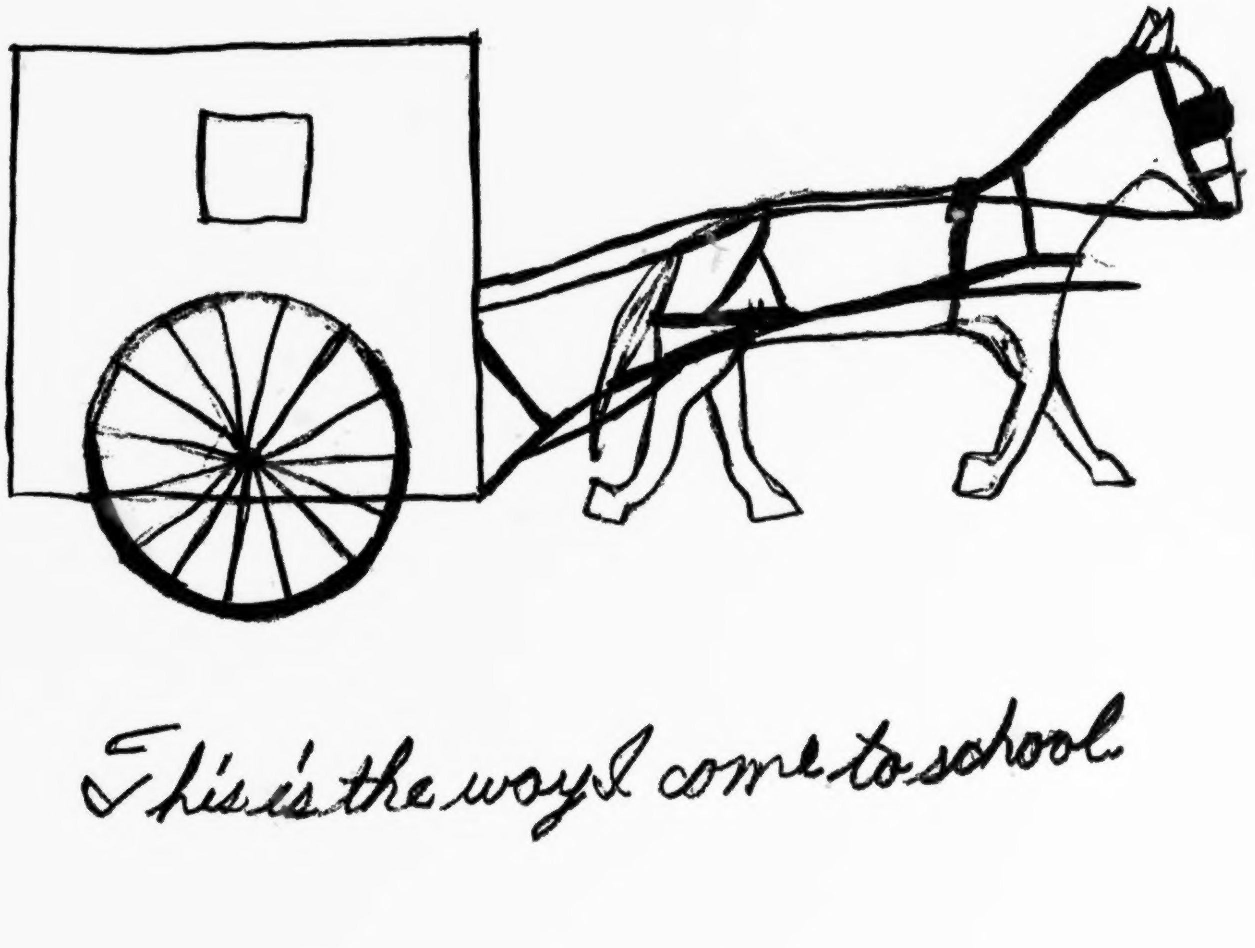

This is the way I come to school.

Figure 41. Animal by boy age 13.

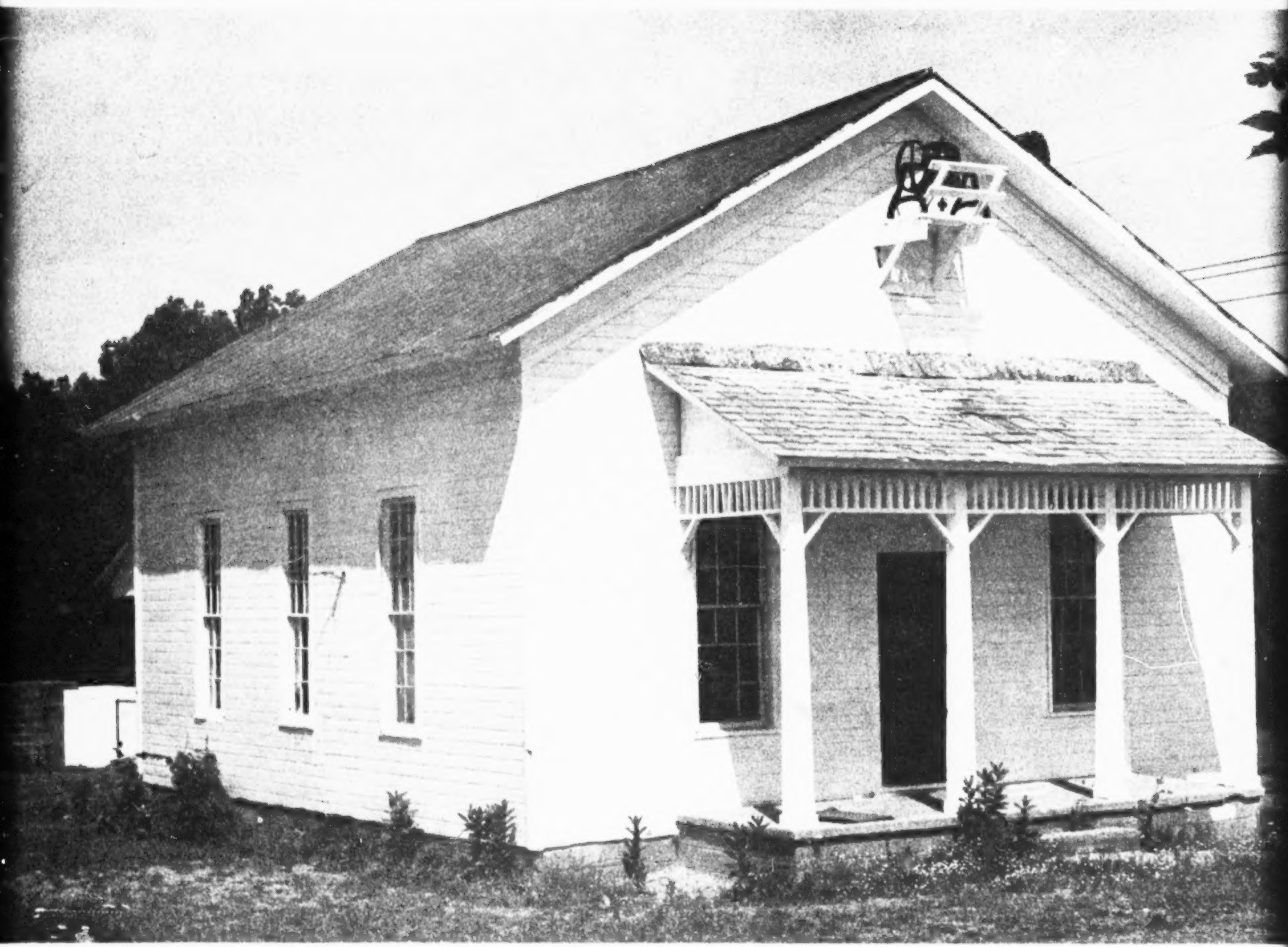


Figure [illegible]. Building Modified for Use as an Amish Schoolhouse

[illegible]

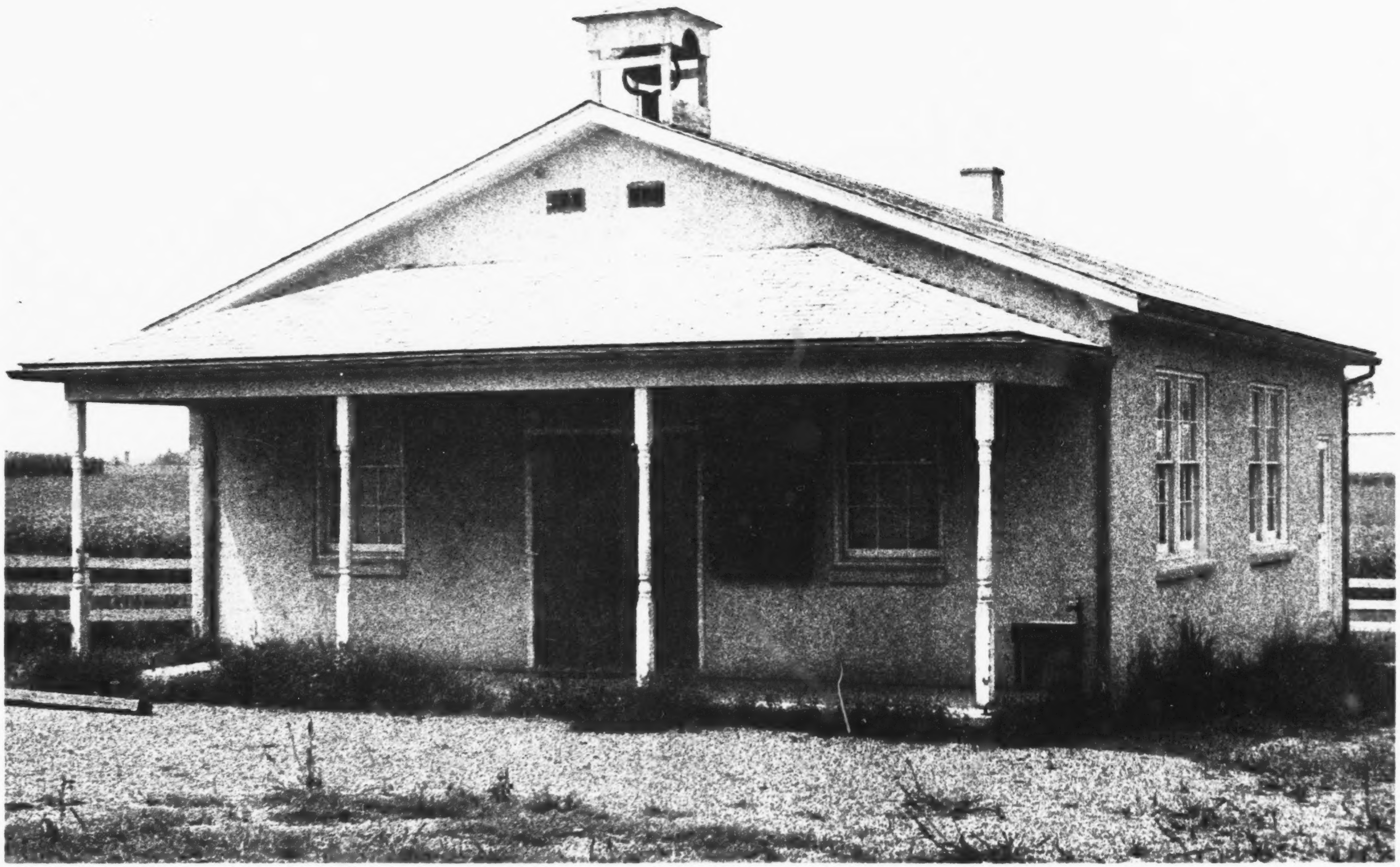


Figure 44. Amish Schoolhouse Built of Stucco. Pennsylvania. Note sink at right and cupboard for individual cups

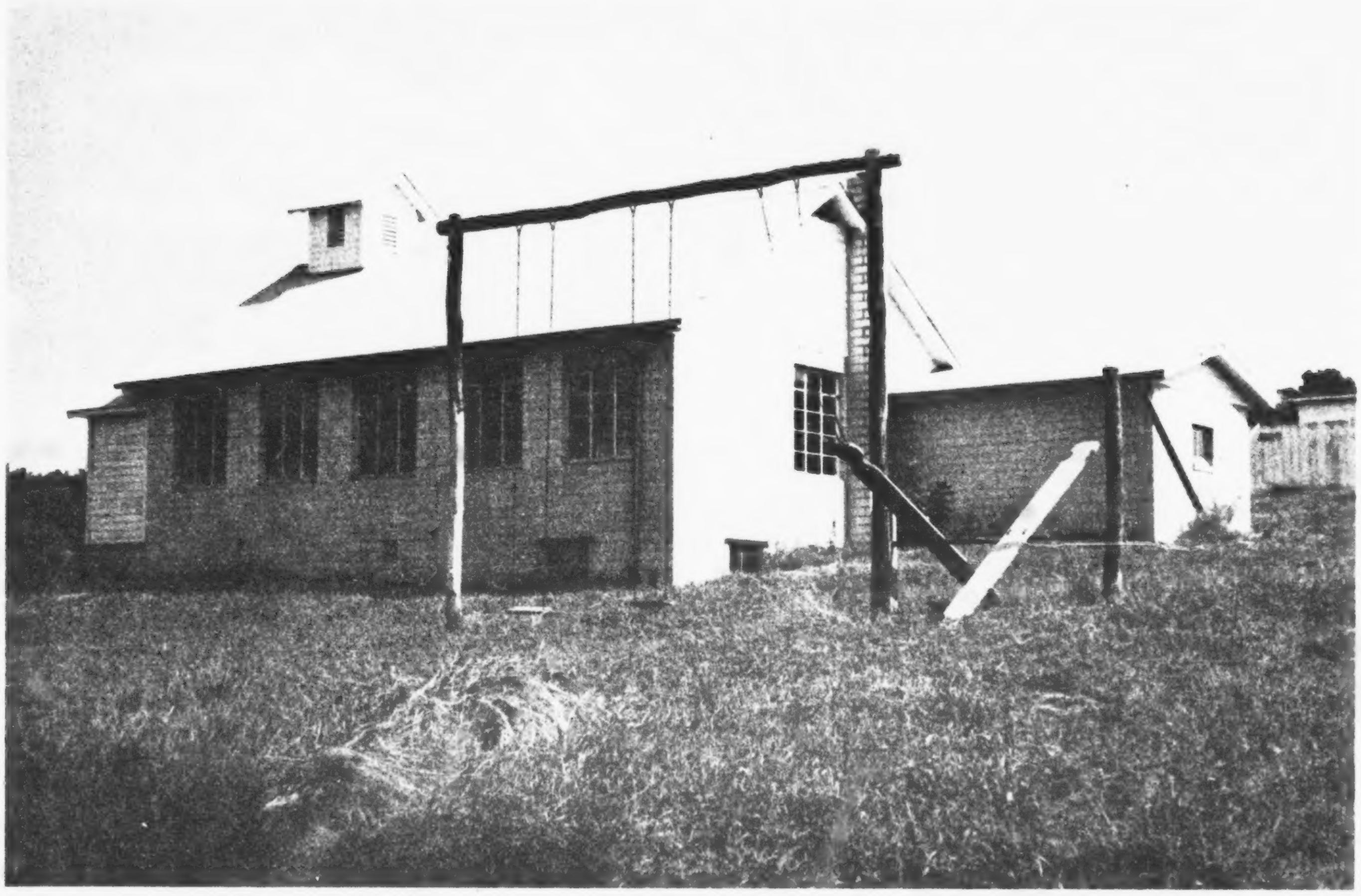


Figure 45. Amish School with Swings and See-Saws

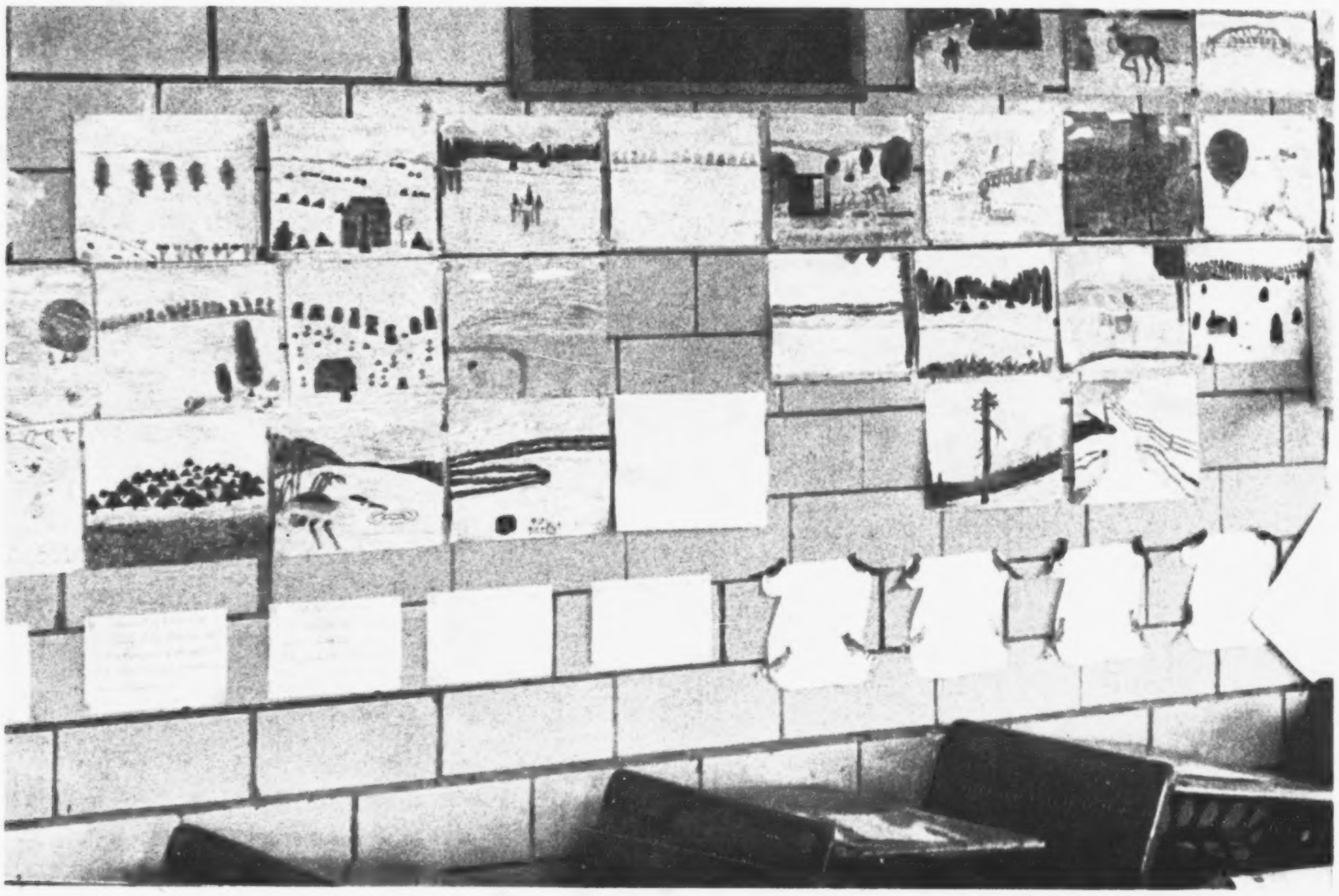


Figure 46. Inside View of Classroom Wall with Drawings

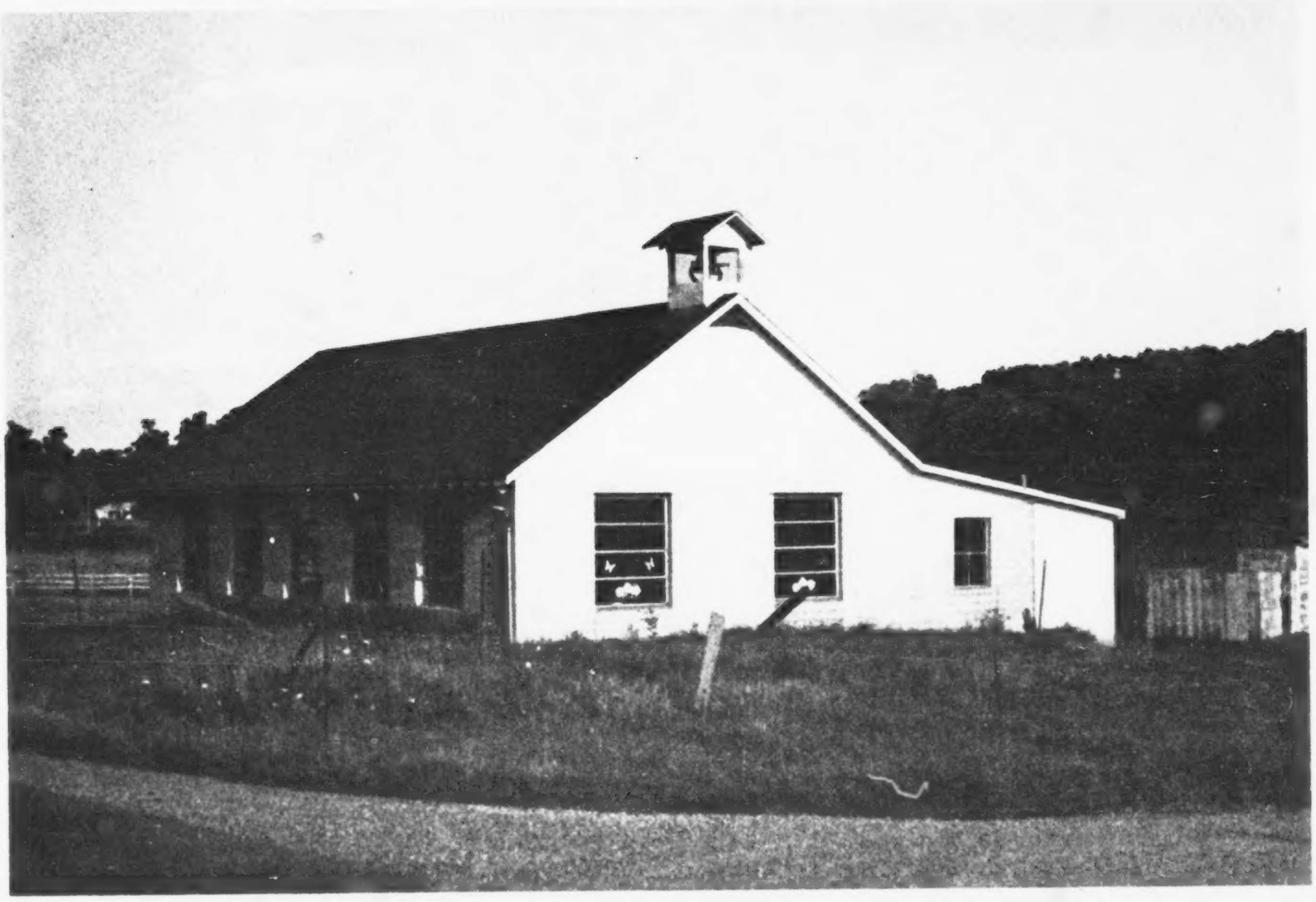


Figure 47. Amish School in Ohio, View From Road

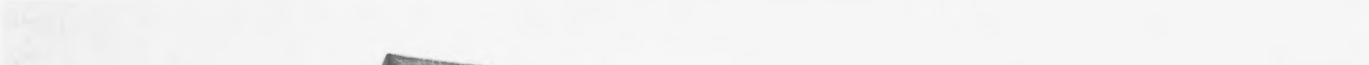


Figure 48. Amish School in Ohio. View From Playground

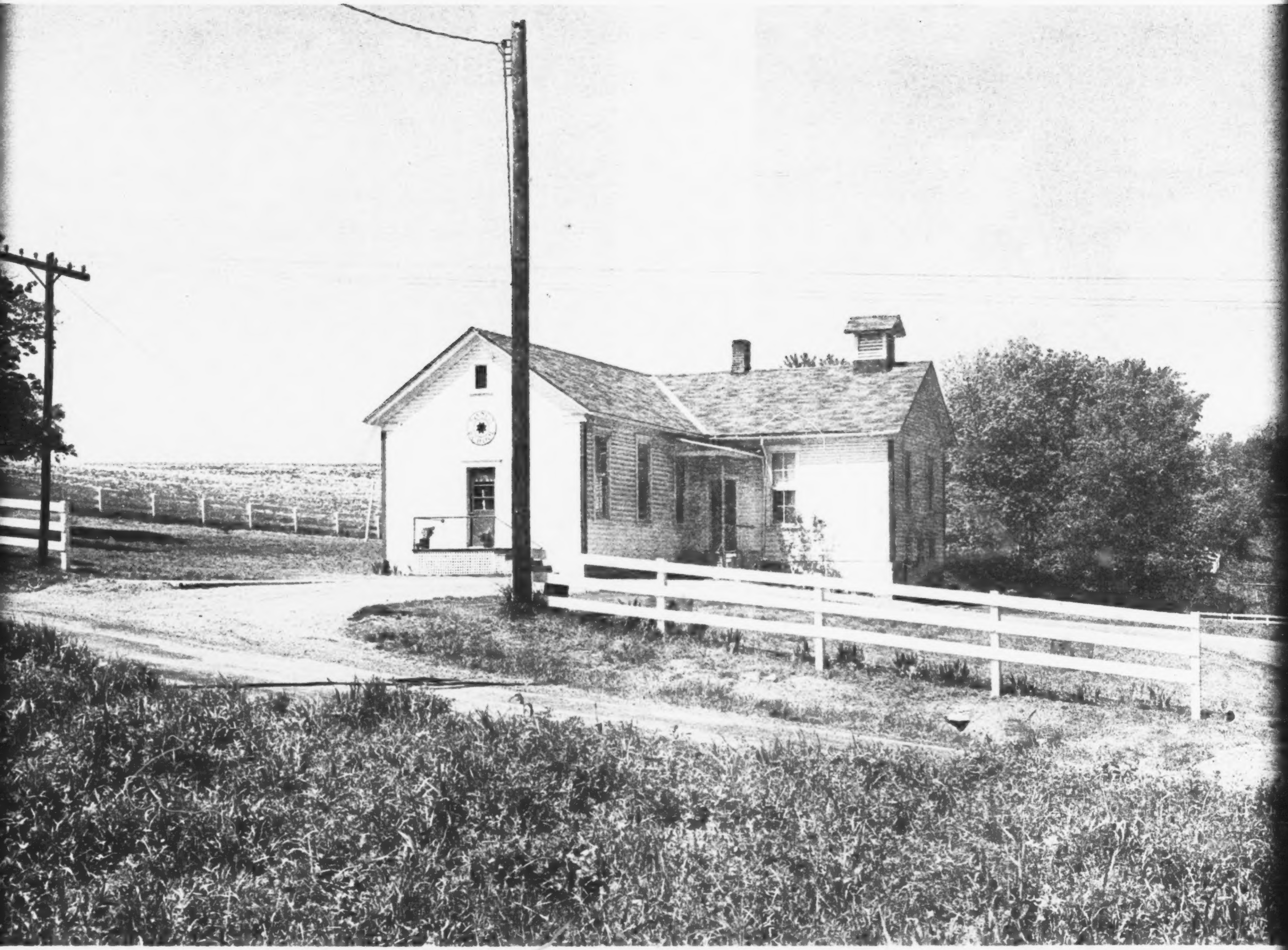


Figure 49. A Two Room Public School Attended by Amish and Other Pupils

Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. The Indicator aims to ascertain people's basic preference in regard to perception and judgment. In terms of the theory, a person may reasonably be expected to develop most skill with the processes he prefers to use and in the areas where he prefers to use them. The Indicator contains indices for determining each of four basic preferences that presumably structure the individual's personality. They are as follows:

Index	Preference as between	Affects individual's choice as to
EI	Extraversion or Introversion	Whether to direct perception and judgment upon environment or world of ideas
SN	Sensing or Intuition	Which of these two kinds of perception to rely on
TF	Thinking or Feeling	Which of these two kinds of judgment to rely on
JP	Judgment or Perception	Whether to use judging or perceptive attitude for dealing with environment

The items in the test offer "forced" choices involving the preferences at issue. The lettered combinations are designed to point one way or the other; they are not scales designed to measure traits. For example, a person with more points for E than for I is classed as extravert and is said to have E scores. A person with more points for I than E is classed as introvert. The EI score is based on the difference between the points for E and the points for I, and a person may have either an E score or an I score, but not both. The quantitative scores suggest the extent to which a person is either E or I. The letter is considered the most important part of the score, indicating which of the opposite sides of his personality dimension the person prefers to use, and presumably has developed or can develop to a higher degree.

E suggests, for instance, that the person enjoys extraverting more than he enjoys introverting, has therefore given his extravert side considerably more practice, is likely to be better at activities involving extraversion, and will probably find a vocation requiring extraversion more satisfying as a life work. The letters from all four scores (above) each with corresponding implications, make up the type formula, as ENFP which describes the type. The four preferences as described in the test manual (Myers 1962:1-2) are as follows:

> The *EI* index is designed to reflect whether the person is an extravert or an introvert in the sense intended by Jung, who coined the terms. The extravert is oriented primarily to the outer world, and tends to focus his perception and judgment upon people and things. The introvert is oriented primarily to the inner world postulated in Jungian theory, and thus tends to focus his perception and judgment upon concepts and ideas.
>
> The *SN* index is designed to reflect the person's preferences as between two opposite ways of perceiving, i.e., whether he relies primarily on the familiar process of sensing by which he is made aware of things directly through one or another of his five senses, or primarily on the less obvious process of intuition, which is understood as indirect perception by way of the unconscious, with the emphasis on ideas or associations which the unconscious tacks on to the outside things perceived.
>
> The *TF* index is designed to reflect the person's preferences as between two opposite ways of judging, i.e., whether he relies primarily upon thinking, which discriminates impersonally between true and false, or primarily upon feeling, which discriminates between valued and not-valued.
>
> The *JP* index is designed to reflect whether the person relies primarily upon a judging process or upon a perceptive process in his dealings with the outer world, that is, in the extraverted part of his life.

The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator was given to seventh and eighth grade pupil populations as shown in Table 17 which indicates the per cent of preference for the various populations.

Table 20 indicates that the Amish pupils in private school are type ISFJ. Characteristics of this personality type, according to the manual, (Myers 1962:70), meet the following description:

> Quiet, friendly, responsible and conscientious. Works devotedly to meet his obligations and serve his friends and school. Thorough and painstaking, accurate with figures, but needs time to master technical subjects, as reasoning is not his strong point. Patient with detail and routine. Loyal, considerate, concerned with how other people feel even when they are in the wrong.

Introversion rather than extroversion was most frequently preferred by the Amish pupils in private school, followed by the non-Amish who were attending the same schools with the Amish. The Amish in public school (populations 1 and 3) tended to be about equally extravert-introvert. The control group was decidedly extrovert.

Sensing rather than Intuition was preferred in all the population samples, but scoring highest were the Amish in private school. Thus accoring to the theory, the pupils in all populations tend to rely primarily on the familiar process of sensing, by which one is made aware of things directly through the senses rather than indirectly through the less obvious process of intuition.

Feeling rather than Thinking was preferred in all sample populations but rated highest among the Amish in private school. The two other Amish sample populations (variable 1 and 3) preferred Feeling to a greater extent than did the non-Amish populations. Again, according to the theory, the Amish pupils rely primarily upon feeling rather than thinking to discriminate between what is valued or what is true or false.

Judgment rather than Perception rated highest among the Amish in private school and was next highest among the Amish in public school where all pupils were of the Amish faith. Where the Amish are in school with non-Amish the differences between these groups is negligible. Thus according to the theory, the Amish rely primarily upon a judging rather than a perceptive process in dealing with the outer world, but would tend to be less so when enrolled in public schools.

Differences in types between the Amish and non-Amish are shown in Table 21. The Preferences for ISFJ are pronounced. The differences are statistically significant between the Amish and the non-Amish on a chi square test for each of the types. (For Extravert-Introvert $P < .05$ and $x^2 = 4.4840$.)

The distribution of Amish and control group types for both sexes are shown in Table 22. Amish boys and girls show little difference in their response pattern. Of all Amish pupils who took the test 89.2 per cent are of the Sensing rather than the Intuitive type.

Table 20. Preference Types of Control Group and Amish Populations by Per Cent, Myers-Briggs Type Indicator

Type and Preference	Control Group (N=27)	Population Variables[†] 1 (N=46)	2 (N=174)	3 (N=31)	4 (N=51)
(EI) Preference for E	81	48	36	45	47
(SN) Preference for S	81	82	94	70	70
(TF) Preference for T	44	34	19	22	39
(JP) Preference for J	40	67	74	48	49

[†] 1. Amish in all-Amish public schools
2. Amish schools
3. Amish in public schools with non-Amish
4. Non-Amish in public schools with Amish

Table 21. Preference Types of Combined Amish and Non-Amish Populations, by Per Cent, Myers-Briggs Type Indicator

Type and Preference	Amish (N=251)	Non-Amish (N-78)
(EI) Preference for E	39	58
(SN) Preference for S	89	76
(TF) Preference for T	22	41
(JP) Preference for J	70	46

Table 22. Summary of Preference Types for Amish and Non-Amish Populations by Sex, Myers-Briggs Indicator

Type						
SENSING TYPES	Number Males		Number Females		Total	
	Amish	Non-Amish	Amish	Non-Amish	Amish	Non-Amish
ISTJ	5	2	12	3	17	5
ISFJ	32	1	41	4	73	5
ISTP	7	4	7	2	14	6
ISFP	18	8	12	1	30	9
ESTP	3	4	-	3	3	7
ESFP	4	4	5	3	9	7
ESTJ	10	6	9	1	19	7
ESFJ	33	7	26	6	59	13
Total number	112	36	112	23	224	59
Per cent	44.6	46.1	44.6	29.3	89.2	75.6
INTUITIVES						
INFJ	4	1	3	2	7	3
INTJ	-	-	-	1	-	1
INFP	3	2	3	3	6	5
INTP	3	1	-	1	3	2
ENFP	4	-	4	3	8	3
ENTP	-	3	1	-	1	3
ENFJ	1	-	1	1	2	1
ENTJ	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total number	15	8	12	11	27	19
Per cent	6.0	10.0	4.8	13.7	10.8	23.7

N=251 Amish
N=78 Non-Amish

The percentage frequencies of the 16 types for the Amish (N=251) and for the control group (N=78) follow. (See Myers (1962) for various other population samples.)

(Amish: N=251)

ISTJ 6.8	ISFJ 29.6	INFJ 2.8	INTJ --
ISTP 5.6	ISFP 12.0	INFP 2.4	INTP 1.2
ESTP 1.2	ESFP 2.4	ENFP 3.2	ENTP 0.4
ESTJ 7.6	ESFJ 24.0	ENFJ 0.8	ENTJ --

(Non-Amish: N=78)

ISTJ 6.4	ISFJ 6.4	INFJ 3.8	INTJ 1.3
ISTP 7.8	ISFP 11.5	INFP 6.4	INTP 2.5
ESTP 9.0	ESFP 9.0	ENFP 3.8	ENTP 3.8
ESTJ 9.0	ESFJ 16.7	ENFJ 1.3	ENTJ 1.3

Table 23. Percentage Distribution of Amish and Selected Educational and Occupational Groups by Most-Skilled Functions, Myers-Briggs Indicator

Group	N	Sensing + Thinking	Sensing + Feeling	Intuition + Feeling	Intuition + Thinking
Amish	251	21%	68%	09%	02%
Sales & Customer relations employees	37	11%	81%	8%	0%
Pupils in six[*] rural Pa. high schools	1298	34%	40%	13%	11%
Medical students	2597	23%	25%	25%	27%
Wharton School students	488	51%	21%	10%	18%
Liberal Arts students	3676	24%	17%	28%	31%
Theology students	99	3%	15%	57%	25%
College teachers	60	12%	15%	40%	33%
Engineering students	2188	24%	11%	22%	43%
College Grads. Industry-hired	350	40%	10%	8%	42%
Science students	705	12%	5%	26%	57%
National Merit Finalists	671	13%	4%	30%	53%
Writers	17	12%	0%	65%	23%
Mathmeticians	28	4%	0%	32%	64%
Architects	40	0%	0%	50%	50%
Creative Men Research scientists	30	0%	0%	23%	77%

Source: Myers (1962:Table D-5: n.p.) Items are arranged from high to low in the Sensing-Feeling category.

[*] Grades 11 and 12, supplied by courtesy of Isabelle Myers.

When the percentage frequencies for the Amish are compared with those in selected educational and occupational groups (Myers 1962:Table D 5) it is again apparent that they have a very high rating of Sensing-Feeling (SF) (Table 20). SF (Sensing + Feeling) is exceeded only by sales and customer relations employees.

On the basis of the theory of this test, the most-skilled functions of the Amish are least like science students and research scientists. Norms for six rural high schools in Pennsylvania for grades 11 and 12 were supplied by Isabelle Myers. These are shown in the last category of Table 20. Even though this high school group is the nearest in age and in education to the Amish pupils, the differences are still significant.

The occupational (employment) prospects of a group with a marked ISFJ Preference-Type are, in terms of the theory, much in line with what the Amish culture trains its members for (Myers 1962:80):

The Introvert type likes quietness for concentration in preference to variety and some distraction, is careful with details in preference to working faster with complicated procedures, does not mind working on one project for a long time uninterruptedly in preference to the extravert who tends to be impatient with long slow jobs, is interested in the idea behind the job in contrast to interest in how other people do the job.

The Sensing type dislikes problems unless there are standard ways of solving them, doesn't mind routine, enjoys using skills he has already acquired in contrast to enjoying a new skill more than using it, works more steady than the intuitive type who may work in bursts of energy powered with enthusiasm, and becomes impatient when there are too many complicated details to remember.

The Feeling type is very aware of other people and their feelings and likes to please people or help them, in contrast to the *Thinking Types* who may hurt people's feelings without knowing it, likes harmony in contrast to analysis, his efficiency may be badly disturbed by feuds, dislikes telling people unpleasant things, and finds it difficult to reprimand people or fire them when necessary.

The Judging type likes to plan his work and be able to get it finished on schedule instead of adapting to changing situations, does not have trouble making decisions but may decide things too quickly, does not like to start too many projects and finish too few, but may not notice new things which need to be done.

This characterization is very much in keeping with observations gained during field work in Amish communities and this finding suggest an area for further research in cross-cultural work.

Gorman Proverbs Test. The group multiple-choice form of 40 items was given to 256 Amish pupils. The pupil is asked to choose the best meaning of a proverb among four alternates. The test utilizes the universal appeal of proverbs to all age levels and has been used among mentally disturbed as well as normal populations to ascertain the level of abstraction. The results are given below.

The higher mean indicates a higher level of abstraction since the 40 items in the text are scaled for difficulty. The Amish mean scores indicate a lower level of abstraction than the norm and an increase in the scores from grades 5 to 8. A common complaint by the Amish was that they were unfamiliar with the sayings.

Table 24. Comparison of Abstract Thinking: Mean Scores of Amish and Standardized Norm for Grades 5 to 8, Gorman Proverbs Test

Grade	Number Amish Pupils	Amish Score	SD	Standardized Norm Score	SD
5	52	10.5	4.41	13.2	6.8
6	64	11.9	5.50	16.7	7.2
7	91	16.0	6.59	19.1	6.2
8	49	16.3	7.64	22.3	8.4

Source: Donald R. Gorman, "A Proverbs Test for Clinical and Experimental Use," Psychological Reports, Monograph Supplement 1:1965, pp. 1-12.

Piers-Harris Self-Concept Test "The Way I Feel About Myself."

This test requires a yes or no response to 80 brief statements about one's self. The test was given to a sample of Amish and a control group to obtain a knowledge of the conception of self among Amish pupils. Although the test has not been published except for research purposes, it has been used by many investigators. (Ellen V. Piers and Dale B. Harris, "The Way I Feel About Myself," the Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa., Lithographed. n.d.)

The findings are presented in the form per cent of "yes" answers to each of the items. This analysis permits us to observe differences not only between the cultures but between the sexes in each culture on a given item. The computation of the mean and standard deviation is not presented here because several of the items were incomplete. Amish persons who advised us on the test requested that certain items be omitted on account of being inappropriate to ask of an Amish child. They were:

9. When I grow up I will be an important person
17. I am an important member of my family
27. I am an important member of my class
57. I am popular with boys
69. I am popular with girls
80. I am a good person

Since Amish values de-emphasize self, it is reasonable that these questions should have been deleted from the test. "Self praise stinks" is a common saying among them. Thinking of one's self as accomplishing more than others is considered a sin. The same could be said for the emphasis on popularity. The Amish children are taught the Biblical view that "no one but God is good" so that a yes-no answer to "I am a good person" becomes absurd.

Americans in particular, we may point out, are accustomed to asking and answering questions, to be interrogated by family, friends, to say nothing of sociologists and college students writing term papers; they are used to being tested and measured, surveyed and polled, and to filling out forms. They have developed responding skills so that they can accommodate their responses to the response categories which confront them. This is less true of people who are not of the middle-class American subculture Research questions may be variously insulting, threatening, humorous or boorish, or simply meaningless to participants in other cultures (such as the Amish). Questions that researchers deem legitimate may go beyond the bounds of propriety or legitimately expected knowledge. There are societies in which questioning behavior among unrelated persons is not tolerated, or where it is an insult to ask an adult to repeat a statement. In some subcultures only individuals of a certain role category can legitimately provide information about their culture. With these reservations we present the findings to the Piers-Harris self-concept test not as conclusive but tentative.

The testees were 191 Amish children in grades 4 to 8 (108 were in private school and 83 were enrolled in public school where all pupils were of the Amish faith). The control group consisted of 200 children in two Pennsylvania towns of about 12,000 population, in grades 4 to 8. The instructions for taking the test and the 80 items follow.

(Instructions):

Here are a set of statements. Some of them are true of you and so you will circle the YES. Some are not true of you and so you will circle the NO. Answer every question even if some are hard to decide. There are no right or wrong answers. Only you can tell us how you feel about yourself, so we hope you will mark the way you really feel inside.

Table 25. Per cent of "yes" Responses of Amish and Control Group, Piers-Harris Self Concept Test

		Boys		Girls	
	Items	Amish (N=102)	Control (N=103)	Amish (N=89)	Control (N=97)
1.	My classmates make fun of me	8.8	27.2	19.1	22.7
2.	I am a happy person	91.1	88.3	89.8	91.7
3.	It is hard for me to make friends	11.7	21.3	24.7	24.7
4.	I am often sad	20.5	30.1	28.0	28.8
5.	I am smart	33.3	55.3	22.4	54.6

Table 25. Continued

	Items	Boys		Girls	
		Amish (N=102)	Control (N=103)	Amish (N=89)	Control (N=97)
6.	I am shy	46.0	24.3	47.1	28.8
7.	I get nervous when the teacher calls on me	34.3	34.9	55.0	42.2
8.	My looks bother me	42.1	16.5	68.6	30.9
9.	When I grow up I will be an important person	---	53.4	---	48.4
10.	I get worried when we have tests in school	37.0	60.1	61.7	71.1
11.	I am popular	48.0	28.2	49.4	45.3
12.	I am well behaved in school	69.6	55.3	71.9	78.3
13.	It is usually my fault when something goes wrong	36.2	28.2	31.4	38.1
14.	I cause trouble to my family	19.6	22.3	20.2	15.5
15.	I am strong	49.4	78.6	56.1	43.3
16.	I have good ideas	64.7	71.8	33.6	63.9
17.	I am an important member of my family	---	76.6	---	67.0
18.	I like being the way I am	69.6	80.5	44.8	70.0
19.	I am good at making things with my hands	41.1	67.9	30.3	57.7
20.	I give up easily	22.5	13.6	25.8	23.7
21.	I am good in my schoolwork	42.1	57.2	42.6	72.1

Table 25. Continued

	Items	Boys Amish (N=102)	 Control (N=103)	Girls Amish (N=89)	 Control (N=97)
22.	I do many bad things	34.3	34.9	37.0	10.3
23.	I can draw well	25.1	68.9	13.4	50.5
24.	I am good in music	26.4	67.9	28.0	86.5
25.	I behave badly at home	14.2	25.2	14.6	11.3
26.	I am slow in finishing my schoolwork	35.2	30.1	32.5	27.8
27.	I am an important member of my class	---	38.8	---	23.7
28.	I am nervous	30.3	29.1	37.0	29.9
29.	I have pretty eyes	28.4	36.9	30.3	70
30.	I can give a good report in front of the class	17.6	52.4	7.8	46.4
31.	In school I am a dreamer	34.3	37.9	29.2	28.8
32.	I pick on my brother(s) and sister(s)	45.1	46.6	30.3	61.8
33.	My friends like my ideas	55.8	63.1	40.4	53.6
34.	I often get into trouble	30.3	47.5	22.4	16.5
35.	I am disobedient at home	20.5	20.4	26.9	19.6
36.	I am unlucky	53.9	45.6	33.7	43.3
37.	I worry a lot	33.3	42.7	46.0	45.3
38.	My parents expect too much of me	24.5	33.0	25.8	27.8

Table 25. Continued

		Boys		Girls	
	Items	Amish (N=102)	Control (N=103)	Amish (N=89)	Control (N=97)
39.	I usually want my own way	39.2	38.8	39.3	37.1
40.	I feel left out of things	39.2	41.7	41.5	47.4
41.	I have nice hair	26.4	52.4	32.5	74.2
42.	I often volunteer in school	42.1	71.8	25.8	78.3
43.	I have a pleasant face	27.4	44.6	22.4	49.4
44.	I sleep well at night	95.8	70.8	92.1	75.2
45.	I hate school	58.8	57.2	53.8	24.7
46.	I am among the last to be chosen for games	24.5	33.0	43.8	56.7
47.	I am sick a lot	8.8	10.7	11.2	9.3
48.	I am often mean to other people	21.5	22.3	19.1	12.4
49.	My classmates in school think I have good ideas	39.2	44.6	33.7	43.3
50.	I am unhappy	10.7	18.4	7.8	16.5
51.	I have many friends	87.2	85.4	67.4	80.3
52.	I am cheerful	88.2	81.5	87.6	88.6
53.	I am dumb about most things	26.4	29.1	53.9	25.8
54.	I am goodlooking	15.6	50.4	13.4	51.5
55.	I have lots of pep	77.4	89.2	69.6	76.2

Table 25. Continued

Items	Boys Amish (N=102)	Boys Control (N=103)	Girls Amish (N=89)	Girls Control (N=97)
56. I get into a lot of fights	10.7	42.7	4.4	19.6
57. I am popular with boys	---	78.6	---	33.0
58. People pick on me	24.5	37.9	26.9	40.2
59. My family is disappointed in me	15.6	16.5	14.6	11.3
60. I wish I were different	57.8	36.9	73.0	48.4
61. When I try to make something, everything seems to go wrong	50.9	47.5	53.4	56.7
62. I am picked on at home	26.4	42.7	30.3	57.7
63. I am a leader in games and sports	22.5	35.5	10.1	14.4
64. I am clumsy	22.5	22.3	30.3	27.8
65. In games and sports I watch instead of play	4.9	16.5	12.3	12.4
66. I forget what I learn	37.2	29.1	47.1	20.6
67. I am easy to get along with	85.2	68.9	78.6	78.3
68. I lose my temper easily	24.5	48.5	29.2	39.1
69. I am popular with girls	---	32.0	---	73.1
70. I am a good reader	59.8	62.1	50.5	62.8

Table 25. Continued

	Items	Boys Amish (N=102)	Boys Control (N=103)	Girls Amish (N=89)	Girls Control (N=97)
71.	I would rather work alone than with a group	37.2	41.7	28.0	37.1
72.	I dislike my brother (sister)	6.8	19.4	4.4	11.3
73.	I have a bad figure	27.4	33.0	41.5	29.9
74.	I am often afraid	19.6	22.3	31.4	37.1
75.	I am always dropping or breaking things	6.8	32.0	19.1	27.8
76.	I cry easily	10.7	10.7	19.1	28.8
77.	I am different from other people	60.7	49.5	52.8	49.4
78.	I think bad thoughts	46.0	34.9	42.6	21.6
79.	I can be trusted	86.2	77.6	93.2	82.4
80.	I am a good person	---	82.5	---	88.6

Items 9, 17, 27, 57, 69, and 80 were deleted by request of the Amish school officials.

Investigators who have used the test have obtained factor scores for subjects and have grouped the items into six interpretable factors. They are:

Intellectual and School Status

(Items 21, 5, 53, 70, 66, 26, 30, 42, 11, 49, 16 7, 27, 33, 17, 9, 12, 57)

Behavior

(Items 22, 35, 25, 34, 14, 78, 79, 80, 12, 48, 31, 56, 64, 67, 13, 59, 32, 4)

Anxiety

(Items 76, 37, 74, 7, 28, 10, 40, 6, 8, 20, 44, 55)

Popularity

(Items 58, 46, 3, 51, 40, 11, 1, 49, 33, 77, 57, 69)

Appearance

(Items 54, 43, 41, 73, 29, 15, 63, 8, 27, 49, 55, 57)

Happiness and Satisfaction

(Items 2, 50, 18, 60, 52, 59, 8, 38, 36)

The results of the tests are discussed according to these factors, as between Amish and non-Amish boys, Amish and non-Amish girls, and Amish boys and Amish girls. The discussion of "difference" is crucial in the analysis, for difference here means 10 per cent or more variation in the response categories. Thus a difference of less than 10 per cent was considered "minimal" and not mentioned in the discussion. Since findings are focused on a difference in the "yes" pattern of responses irrespective of a high or low total response pattern, readers may make other comparisons by consulting Table 25.

Intellectual and school status:

Differences between Amish and non-Amish boys: Amish boys had a higher response pattern than non-Amish on two items (#11, 21) in this factor. Amish boys think of themselves as unpopular but well behaved in school in comparison to the non-Amish boys. The non-Amish boys think of themselves as good in their school work, smart, able to give a good report in front of the class, and often volunteering in school to a greater extent than do Amish boys.

Differences between Amish girls and non-Amish girls: Amish girls more than the non-Amish girls thought of themselves as dumb about most things, forgetting what they learn, and getting nervous when the teacher calls on them. The non-Amish girls regarded themselves as good in schoolwork, smart, able to give a good report in front of the class, and often volunteering in school.

Differences between Amish boys and Amish girls: The boys had a more favorable view of themselves in terms of being smarter, being able to give a good report in front of the class, often volunteering in school, having good ideas, and having their friends like their ideas. More girls than boys tended to think of themselves as dumb about most things and getting nervous when the teacher calls on them. The sexes differed least in their conception of whether they were doing well in schoolwork, were good readers, were forgetting what is learned, were slow in finishing schoolwork, were unpopular, or were behaving well in school.

Behavior:

Differences between Amish and non-Amish boys: Amish boys more than the non-Amish boys think of themselves as having bad thoughts, as persons who can be trusted, are well behaved in school easy to get along with, and that it is usually their own fault when somethings goes wrong. The non-Amish more than the Amish conceived of themselves as behaving badly at home, often being in trouble, getting into fights, and often being sad.

Differences between Amish and non-Amish girls: Amish girls more than the non-Amish thought of themselves as doing many bad things, thinking bad thoughts, but as persons who could be trusted. The non-Amish girls thought of themselves as getting into lots of fights and picking on their brothers or sisters to a greater extent than did the Amish girls.

Differences between Amish boys and Amish girls: There was little difference in the responses except that the boys thought of themselves as picking more on their brothers and sisters than did the girls.

Anxiety:

Differences between Amish and non-Amish boys: Amish boys rated themselves higher than the non-Amish boys for shyness. Their looks bothered them more than the non-Amish. They said they give up easily, but they sleep well at night. They worry more than the non-Amish when they have tests in school.

Differences between Amish and non-Amish girls: Amish girls think of themselves as getting nervous when the teacher calls on them, being shy, and bothered by their looks more than non-Amish girls. But Amish girls sleep better at night than the non-Amish, and they do not think of themselves as crying as much as do the non-Amish.

Differences between Amish boys and Amish girls: Boys worry less than girls; they are less often afraid, less nervous when the teacher calls on them, and are less worried when they have tests in school. Although looks bother both sexes, the girls are bothered more than the boys.

Popularity:

Differences between Amish and non-Amish boys: Amish boys conceived of themselves as unpopular and as different from other people more than did non-Amish boys. To a greater extent than Amish boys, the non-Amish boys felt that people pick on them, that it is hard for them to make friends, and that their classmates made fun of them. Boys in both groups, however, felt that they have many friends, that they are not left out of things, and that their friends liked their ideas.

Differences between Amish and non-Amish girls: The response pattern of Amish girls indicates a subdued conception of popularity. They did not feel as did the non-Amish girls that people pick on them, that they were among the last to be chosen for games. The non-Amish girls indicated that they had many friends and that their friends liked their ideas to a greater extent than did the Amish girls. Girls in both cultures indicated homogeneous responses to the following: it is hard for me to make friends, I feel left out of things, I am unpopular, my classmates make fun of me, and I am different from other people.

Differences between Amish boys and Amish girls: Boys said they had many friends and that their friends liked their ideas to a greater extent than did girls. Girls conceived of themselves as being among the last to be chosen for games, that it was hard to make friends, and that classmates made fun of them to a greater extent than did boys. Boys and girls were in general agreement about the extent to which people pick on them, about being left out of things, about being unpopular, about classmates thinking of them as having good ideas, and about being different from other people.

Appearance:

Difference between Amish and non-Amish boys: Amish boys de-emphasize their appearance and prowess. The non-Amish boys thought of themselves as goodlooking, having a pleasant face, nice hair, being strong, and as leaders in games and sports to a much greater extent than did Amish boys. Amish boys indicated that their looks bothered them more than did the non-Amish.

Difference between Amish and non-Amish girls: Amish girls thought of themselves as having a bad figure, being stronger, and being bothered by their looks to a greater extent than non-Amish girls. The non-Amish conceived of themselves as being goodlooking, having a pleasant face, and having pretty eyes more than did the Amish girls.

Differences between Amish boys and girls: More boys than girls said they were a leader in games and sports. Girls scored above the boys in saying that they had a bad figure, and that their looks bothered them. Both Amish girls and boys were quite similar in their responses to questions asked about being goodlooking, having a pleasant face, nice hair, having pretty eyes, or being strong.

Happiness and Satisfaction:

Differences between Amish and non-Amish boys: Amish boys wished they were different to a greater extent than did non-Amish boys. Non-Amish boys said they liked being the way they were to a greater extent than did the Amish. In responses to questions about being happy or unhappy, cheerful, whether their families were disappoint ed in them, whether parents expect too much of them, or whether they are unlucky, the differences in responses were minimal.

Differences between Amish and non-Amish girls. More Amish girls said they were unhappy and wished they were different than did non-Amish girls. Non-Amish girls said they liked being the way they were to a greater extent than did the Amish girls. Responses to questions about happiness, cheerfulness, or being unlucky differed a little among girls as between Amish and non-Amish culture.

Differences between Amish boys and girls: Girls wished they were different to a greater extent than boys. Boys liked being the way they were more than did girls. Boys, however, considered themselves unlucky to a far greater extent than did girls.

Miscellaneous:

Several items in the Piers-Harris scale have not been grouped into any one of the above factors. The differences on several of these items are worth noting. The responses to "I hate school" (Item 45) were fairly consistent for all groups except that the non-Amish girls' score was much lower. Amish girls and boys differed less than ten per cent in their responses.

On the concept of being good (skilled) at making things with one's hands (Item 19) the Amish scored lower than the non-Amish but Amish boys have a more favorable score than Amish girls. The de-emphasis of self required of Amish children may account for this lower estimate of personal skill.

To the question "I lose my temper easily" (Item 68) the non-Amish response was highest. The differences between Amish boys and girls was minimal.

The concept of being good in music (Item 24) shows a wide discrepancy between Amish and non-Amish culture. Again it would appear that "being good" in some subject is a part of the self image that is held in moderation.

Summary and conclusion:

To obtain a knowledge of the concept of self among Amish pupils, the Piers-Harris test "The Way I Feel About Myself" was given to 191 Amish pupils and a control group of 200 non-Amish children. An analysis was made of the differences between the response of the two populations. The differences were discussed where the variance was ten per cent or greater (irrespective of the total in each response category). Comparisons were made between boys (Amish and non-Amish), girls (Amish and non-Amish), and between Amish boys and girls. Several of the items in the test were deleted at the request of Amish informants who advised us on the testing, so that a more rigorous statistical analysis than percentage was not undertaken.

The Amish tended to have higher responses (10 per cent or more) from the non-Amish on such positive attributes as behaving well in school, capable of being trusted, easy to get along with, sleeping well, and considering it their own fault when something goes wrong. The Amish rated themselves more unfavorable than the non-Amish on such items as thinking bad thoughts, being shy, and being bothered by their physical appearance. Amish girls tended to follow the response pattern of Amish boys, but in some aspects they conceived of themselves in more unfavorable terms: being forgetful, nervous when the teacher calls on them, and wishing they were different.

No claim is made that the test is valid, but the differences in responses are consistent with some of the basic value-orientations of the two cultures. The de-emphasis of self, not exerting the ego, but holding self in moderation appears to be consistently expressed by Amish pupils in this exercise. The findings are suggestive rather than conclusive.

Occupational aspirations:

Children in Amish schools and in a control group were asked to write short topic essays on "What kind of work I want to do when I grow up, and why." This technique had been used by Goodman (1957) and by Ruth and Stanley Freed (1968). The purpose of asking Amish children to specify their occupational choice was to discover the range of children's attitudes toward work and to compare them to the occupation of their family head. Each child was also asked to state his age and the work of his father.

The choices were grouped into two categories, "traditional" and "non-traditional," and were compared to the occupation of the household head. There were 242 pupils in the survey composed of nine private schools. Table 26 shows that the proportion of non-traditional choices ranges from 0.0 to 51 per cent. The proportion of household heads engaged in non-traditional occupations ranged from 0.0 to 18 per cent. The schools with the highest proportion of non-traditional choices were definitely more marginal and less strict in their overall *Ordnung* than the Old Order Amish. It is clear however that overall the children's choice of occupation tends more toward the non-traditional than the actual occupation of their fathers. Only 9.9 per cent of the household heads are engaged in non-traditional occupations chosen by the children was 24.4 per cent. This finding is consistent with a trend that does exist in Amish communities where occupational patterns are changing. Landing (1967:118) found two church districts where more household heads were employed in small factories than were engaged in full time farming. Cross (19[illegible]:49) reported that over 25 per cent of the Amish in Holmes County Ohio are engaged in non-farming occupations.

Table 26. Comparison in Per Cent of Amish Pupil Occupational Choice and Occupation of Household Heads by Traditional and Non-Traditional Categories and by Schools

Amish School	Number Pupils	Student Choice of Occupation: Per Cent Non-Traditional (N=242)	Occupation of Household Head: Per Cent Non-Traditional (N=252)
A	18	51	16
B	24	46	08
C	21	33	06
D	36	30	08
E	44	27	18
F	25	20	--
G	26	15	--
H	30	06	24[†]
I	28	--	03
All Categories	242	24.2	9.9

[†] Represents occupations in small Amish owned industries that do not use electricity.

Classified as traditional were farm and farm-related occupations, as well as traditional trades associated with the Amish: carpentry, harness making, blacksmithing, buggy or carriage repair shops, sawmilling or sawmill worker, logging, woodworker, and farming when combined with a second occupation. A few typical essays follows:

An Amish boy, 9 years old wrote:

> When I grow up I want to be a good farmer. Because I like to milk and feed the pigs, chickens, horses, cows, and calves. Also I get the straw and hay down . . . . Father teaches me to farm.

A boy, 12 years old wrote:

> I would like to be a farmer. So I could grow my own food and have a peaceful life in the country and do not have to do the same job day after day.

A girl, age 13 wrote:

> When I grow up I want to be a housekeeper, bake, cook, iron, wash and have a garden. I don't want to live in the city. I would have a few flower beds in the lawn so it wouldn't look so bare. I want to be a housekeeper, because my mother taught me how to cook. I want to have a garden so I wouldn't have to buy the vegetables and things. I don't want to live in the city so that I wouldn't have to hear all the noise. I want to work out, to help people.

An Amish girl in her last year of elementary school (age 14) explains more fully what she hopes to do when she becomes an adult.

> I would want to live on a farm and keep house. I would want to bake, sew, cook, wash clothes, iron, make Christmas candy to sell, knit mufflers, and many other things. I would want a lawn to mow, trim, and rake. I would have very nice flowers all around the house. I would bake bread and rolls. I'd make pattys and donuts ever so good. I'd make noodles too.
>
> I would live on a farm too so I'd always have lots of work. I'd help milk cows, feed a dog, a dozen cats and kittens and the chickens, too, so

> I don't have to buy eggs. I'd help in the fields and put hay in. I would help other neighbors too with their work, so when I need help they'll help me too. I would spend a day at my parents, brothers or sisters places too. I think I'd find time to visit at Sam Yoder's school one afternoon.
>
> The reason why I'd want to live on a farm and keep house is because, there are always so many interesting things to do which I enjoy.

These children illustrate successful Amish socialization. They look forward with happy anticipation to the roles they will fill as adults. They know what they want to do, they know what they will be doing and they are receiving the technical and psychological training necessary for a productive adulthood.

In the non-traditional category we grouped all choice of occupations that ordinarily cannot be carried out on the family farm. They included working in a restaurant, nursing, teaching, working in a factory, editor, bookstore manager, and cowboy. There may be some doubts about where to place the occupation of teacher, since it is an emerging occupational role in Amish society. For the purposes of this analysis it was grouped with the non-traditional. The following essays include choices of the non-traditional variety:

> A boy age 8:
>
> When I grow up I would like to be a fire chief of a town whose population would be about 8,000. I would want to drive a big firetruck. The reason I want to be a fire chief is because I could give orders. I also like to go to fires, or maybe I could rescue somebody.
>
> A boy age 13:
>
> I would like to be a man that handles books a lot. A librarian, a secretary or anything that has to do with books. I like almost any kind of books but I prefer westerns and mystery books. Since my mother was also a bookworm I guess I got the love of books from her. Anyway in my spare time I want a book in my hands.

> A boy in grade 2, age 7:
>
> I want to be an auctioneer. I like to shout.
>
> A girl age 9:
>
> I want to be a school teacher when I grow up. Because I want to learn children to spell words and names, and work arithmetic, and to read books, and to draw pretty things. I hope I can teach a school when I grow up and learn them to behave, and to be good to one another.
>
> A girl in her last year of elementary school, age 13:
>
> When I grow up I want to be a waitress in a restaurant. I have always wanted to wait on people. But I have never thought of being a waitress till lately. I would like to work six days a week, Monday till Saturday. I think it would be fun to wait on people, because then I would meet other people. But I would want to come home every evening.

Occupational choices were obtained for Amish and two other ethnic groups of children (blacks and rural whites) who were enrolled in the same public school, Table 27. The purpose was to discover whether the Amish pupils in contact with other cultures in the school still preferred the occupation of their family heads and to discover the differences between the three groups of children.

Boys' choices: of 27 Amish boys 18 wished to be farmers: only two whites and one black boy indicated a preference for farming. Many of the Amish boys who chose farming specified "dairy farming," "hog raiser," or "horse farmer," and many simply said "I want to be a farmer." The five Amish boys included under the category "skilled manual labor" had chosen the occupation of carpenter, mechanic harness maker, butcher and blacksmith. The "unskilled manual labor" choices for the Amish included only three areas: farming, skilled manual labor, and unskilled manual labor, while the choices of the whites and blacks included a wider range of preferences. Black choices did not show a concentration in any one area. The black boys were the only ones who chose the occupations of religious leader, salesman, president and government servant. One boy wanted to become "a preacher and have a good church." Another preferred to be a car salesman. The boy who wanted to become president first planned "to go to college, and from college . . . go to the Air Force and then go for

President." The "government service" choices included a policeman and two spies who wished to "lock up crooks."

We conclude that Amish boys prefer the occupations of their fathers which is primarily farming but also carpentry and laborer.

Girls' choices: Amish girls showed a marked preference for professional occupations. More than half of the girls favored teaching as a first choice and nursing came second. This strong interest in the professions appear to be a decided deviation from the traditional role of mother and housewife. Only five Amish girls preferred housewife. Most of the Amish girls' choices did not specify a particular grade or subject they preferred to teach but simply said, "I want to be a teacher" and another specified first grade. Two girls who chose teaching wanted "to work at somebody else's house" or "be a housewife," and one who wanted to be a nurse wanted also "to work at a store or be a housewife." Amish girls are the only ones who chose "unskilled manual labor" (e.g., housekeeper). One wanted " . . . to work or be a teacher." Becoming a housewife was attractive only to the Amish and white girls. The Amish also mentioned "cleaning the house and taking care of kids and cooking."

Most of the black girls chose professional careers in nursing and two of them specified "head nurses." Only two chose teaching careers. Of these two, one wanted to be "a history teacher." The Negro professional choices unlike the Amish placed nursing ahead of teaching. Black girls also mentioned secretary, actress, and modelling.

White girls preferred nursing and teaching. One undecided girls said, "I might like to be a teacher, or a mother, or a nurse." One wanted to be a farmer's wife. Only white girls showed a preference for occupations in religion or farming. Two wanted to be missionaries and one mentioned travelling "all over the world."

It concluded that the Amish girls more than the white or black girls prefer occupations in keeping with farming such as cleaning, domestic work, caring for the house and family. The rather pronounced interest in teaching and nursing may reflect the occupations which the Amish know they need. Perhaps these aspirations by the young reflect changes that will occur in the future.

Table 27. Occupational Choices of Amish, Black, and Rural White Pupils, Ages 9-15.

	Boys			Girls		
	Amish	Black	White	Amish	Black	White
Farmer	18	1	2	-	-	2
Professions	-	2	5	14	11	7
Skilled Manual work	5	1	5	-	-	1
Unskilled manual work	4	-	3	3	-	-
Scientist, astronaut	-	3	3	-	-	-
Religious leader	-	2	-	-	-	2
Performer	-	2	-	-	-	-
Government service	-	3	-	-	-	-
Artist	-	-	1	-	-	-
Military	-	-	1	-	-	-
Sports	-	1	1	-	-	-
Salesman	-	1	-	-	-	-
President	-	1	-	-	-	-
Housewife	-	-	-	5	-	2
Secretary	-	-	-	-	1	-
Actress	-	-	-	-	1	-
Modelling	-	-	-	-	1	-
Total Number	27	17	21	22	14	14

Table 28. Occupational Choices of Male Pupils and Occupation of Father by Amish and Non-Amish Pupils (Black and Rural White)

Occupation	Choice of Pupil	Father's Occupation	Choice of Pupil	Father's Occupation
Professional	0	-	7	-
Skilled manual	5	4	6	10
Unskilled, manual	4	1	2	5
Farming	18	15	3	5
Factory	-	6	1	15
Private business	-	1	-	1
Supervisor	-	-	-	1
Government service	-	-	3	1
Scientist, astronaut	-	-	6	-
Religious leader	-	-	2	-
Artist	-	-	1	-
Military	-	-	1	-
Sports	-	-	2	-
Salesman	-	-	1	-
President	-	-	1	-
No information	-	-	2	1
Total number	27	27	38	38

The occupational choices of male pupils are compared to the occupation of their fathers in Table 28. The Amish pupils' choices follow the occupational pattern of their fathers. No Amish fathers are employed in the professions and no Amish boys indicate preferences in that area. Of 27 boys, 18 indicated farming as their occupational choice. No Amish boys chose factory work, but six Amish fathers are working in a factory—a practice common in this region where the Amish live. The non-Amish choices reflect the tendency toward upward mobility in contrast to the Amish. There are seven choices for the professions among non-Amish boys but no fathers are engaged in professional work. More fathers have occupations in the skilled and unskilled labor categories than were chosen by the boys. Fifteen fathers were factory workers but only one pupil chose factory work as his preferred occupation. The range of choices among the non-Amish were much greater than the occupations engaged in by the fathers.

In conclusion, there are general cultrual variations in occupational choices which tend to divide rural white and black cultures on the one hand and Amish culture on the other. Amish culture demands a high degree of conformity with an emphasis on the simplistic and natural forms seeking to preserve the culture. Amish children have a different perception of occupational preferences from the other children tested. They see (and are taught) that their fathers hold their jobs because of religious and cultural values. Consequently there is no stigma attached to desiring a similar job. Amish society, in fact, encourages its children to seek similar jobs.

Summary and conclusions: Amish children in nine private schools, numbering 242, were asked to write an essay on "What kind of work I want to do when I grow up, why." The responses were grouped into traditional and non-traditional categories. Most of the children (75.8 per cent) chose occupations of the traditional type—farm and farm-related. The proportions ranged widely among the nine schools which appears to reflect a heterogeneity of occupational patterns in the various communities. The proportion of non-traditional choices by the children (24.4 per cent) was greater than the proportion of non-traditional occupations engaged in by the household heads (9.9 per cent). The majority of the children in the survey illustrate successful Amish socialization. They are confident of what they will be doing as adults and know they are receiving the technical and psychological training needed for adult life.

Essays from a multi-cultural school, consisting of Amish, blacks, and rural whites, showed that the Amish pupils still preferred the traditional occupations of their culture. Amish girls showed a marked interest in professional occupations such as teaching and nursing, but many were interested in housekeeping, cleaning, cooking, or helping others in the family. The choices of black and rural white pupils were more heterogeneous than the Amish and touched on a great variety of interests.

Freehand drawings: On the assumption held by many psychologists and anthropologists that personality and culture are revealed in drawings, we asked groups of children to draw (1) "My Happy Time," (2) Your house—the house in which you live," and (3) "An Animal or a Machine." The purpose of the exercise was to obtain a knowledge of Amish children's perception of their environment and to compare the findings with suburban children which served as a control group. The content of the drawings are anlayzed by schools rather than by age categories and consist of several different methods of analysis. The exercise was conducted in 14 private Amish schools. Selected aspects of the findings are given below. (A selection of the drawings appear in Figures 24 to 41. Mainly line drawings were selected, as the most illustrious color drawings could not be reproduced in color in this report.)

The first analysis consists of an Amish elementary school with 46 pupils (24 boys and 22 girls). The control group consisted of 31 suburban children (17 boys and 14 girls) who were chosen at random from a group of 150 children in one suburban school and matched for sex and age with Amish pupils. In neither case can we be certain that the samples are representative of the two subcultures but observations of the two school systems led us to believe they were not grossly unrepresentative or atypical. Comparisons were made to ascertain whether the drawings from the two subcultures have varying themes and content and also whether the themes are consistent with the respective value-orientations of the subculture.

"My Happy Time" drawings: The initial tabulation of the content of this drawing reveal uniquely different interests in the two cultures. (Table 29.) Only one activity, baseball, is shared by the two subcultures in the drawing. Within the subculture 63 per cent of the Amish children shared a common theme as compared to 32 per cent for the control group. Only Amish children included reading as part of "a happy time." The children in the

two subcultures clearly have separate interests, for the suburban children agree less frequently than the Amish on what is considered "a happy time." Hostility and competitive activity is most apparent among the suburban group. This finding is consistent with what we would expect given the different type of socialization and values of the subcultures. The Amish "a happy time" preference is more homogeneous and consistent with maintaining a distinctive way of life (i.e., separate from the world) than the response pattern of the control group.

A comparison of the Amish and the children in the control group for several major characteristics are reported in Table 30. On the significance of including others in the drawing there is an inverse relationship to sex within the Amish group but which is less pronounced in the control group. Amish girls more frequently portray others or no one while the girls in the control group portray only themselves and do not include others. The Amish boys follow the same pattern. Even when sex differences are held constant the suburban children tend to draw only themselves while the Amish children tend to include others in their drawings of "a happy time." These findings would suggest that Amish culture is less individualistically oriented than the American culture.

The indoor-outdoor activity is consistent with our observational knowledge of the two subcultures. The Amish drawings show a preference for outdoor activity, and boys more so than girls, which is what is expected of adults in Amish culture. Suburban children do not aspire to be farmers or to work outdoors and their drawings reflect these preferences. Part of this difference might be explained by the availability of a large number of indoor activities in the suburban neighborhoods.

Amish children included in their drawings of "a happy time" work-related activities. (Baby sitting, Fig. 24; raking leaves, Fig. 26; baking, Fig. 31.) Not one suburban child drew a work-related scene. This may reflect the Amish practice of giving their children chores which contribute to the household in a meaningful way, whereas suburban children are given fewer chores and their participation in work is not important to the functioning of the household.

Table 29. Activities Portrayed in "My Happy Time" Drawing of Amish and Non-Amish Suburban Pupils by Sex

	Number Drawings	
Males:	Amish	Control Group
Swimming		4
Snowball fight		1
Hit teacher with snowball		1
Blow up school		1
Play golf (when older)		1
Hit car with snowballs		1
Climbing into tree house		1
Playing basketball		1
Buying new things at the store		1
Swinging on rope in barn		1
Christmas		1
Reading		1
Wrestling with dog		1
Eating	6	
Sledding	4	
Fishing	4	
Ice skating	2	
Playing ball (catch)	1	
Baseball	1	
Gathering eggs	1	
Fix motor	1	
Opening packages from Sears	1	
Riding bike	1	
Swinging	1	
Hunting	1	
Going on bus trip	1	
Total Male Drawings	25	17

Table 29. Continued

Female:	Number Drawings Amish	 Control Group
Swimming		4
Birthday		2
Baseball	2	1
Running to mother		1
Eating ice cream at circus		1
Walking dog		1
Flying kite		1
Roller skating		1
Drinking coke		1
Look at grandfather's coin collection		1
Reading	5	
Fishing	3	
Slide down icy hill on foot	2	
Drive buggy on trip	1	
Playing ball (catch)	1	
Making snowmen	1	
Swinging	1	
Playing in wagon	1	
Playing in snow	1	
Boating and picnic	1	
Taking test	1	
Playing ping pong	1	
Sewing	1	
Total Female Drawings	22	14

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Table 30. Comparison in Per Cent of "My Happy Time" Drawing Characteristics of Amish and Non-Amish Suburban Pupils by Sex

Variable	Amish Male (N=24)	 Female (N=22)	Control Group Male (N=17)	 Female (N=14)
Significance of other in play				
Only self	51	28	42	72
With others	37	32	35	14
No one portrayed	12	40	23	14
Preference for indoor-outdoor activity				
Indoor	8	32	35	36
Outdoor	92	68	65	64
Work-related drawings				
Work-related	12	5	-	-
Not work-related	88	95	100	100

Summary of "My happy time" drawings: There is some, but not a large difference of activity according to sex in Amish drawings. Male activities are related to the adult male role in a farming environment. Some of the girls liked male related activities such as fishing or playing with animals. The absence of a strong differentiation of activities between sexes for elementary school children may indicate that at least in orientation to farm work there is no rigid male-female role dichotomy.

We found differences between the response patterns of Amish and suburban children. These differences are consistent with our knowledge of the subcultures. Amish children more than suburban children tend to sketch work-related "happy time" drawings. The drawings are a source of suggestive data potentially useful to the ethnologist as a basis for formulating hypotheses, and perhaps more particularly a means of sensitizing the researcher to what a society values.

"My house" drawing: The house drawings of Amish children are striking in their cultural content. (See Figures 33 to 36.) They include often a variety of color, many windows, and many aspects of the farm and larger enfironment: the porches to the house, walks, gardens, roads, and details about the child's particular home. They reflect regional aspects of Amish culture, such as the style of architecture as may differ in Holmes County, Ohio, from that in northern Indiana.

Children were told to "write something about your house at the bottom of the page, if you wish." The response pattern in one school appears below. Many comments from a large number of responses were: "This is the house where I live," or "I like my home," indicating strong emotional identification.

Response pattern to "My house" drawing in 42 Amish pupil drawings:

Quote	Males	Females
"My house"	8	10
"This is my house"	2	1
"The house (or farm) where I live"	3	3
"My home"	1	-
"The view of my home"	1	-
"This is my house"	1	-
"This is my (our) house and barn"	2	-
"I like to work in my house and barn"	1	-
Total number of drawings	19	14

Number of windows in house drawing, Amish and control group:

Group	Number of windows drawn:													
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	N
Number windows:														
Males, Amish	1	2	-	2	1	1	-	2	2	2	1	2	1	(17)
Males, control	1	2	-	3	3	1	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	(17)
Females, Amish	-	-	3	-	1	4	[illegible]	1	1	2	-	-	-	(14)
Females, control	1	-	5	3	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	(14)

Background and perspective of house drawing, Amish and control group:

	Amish Number		Control Group Number	
Type of background:	Male	Female	Male	Female
No background	12	8	5	4
Little background	1	5	5	4
Good background	4	1	7	6
Total	17	14	17	14
Perspective:				
None	15	13	16	14
Little	1	-	-	-
Good	1	1	-	-
	17	14	17	14

An analysis was made of the number of windows, the amount of background, and perspective. The median number of windows for the Amish drawings was greater than for the control group. This is a reflection of larger homes among the Amish children than those of suburban children. The background of the drawings on a three point scale shows that the suburban children drew a background more frequently than the Amish, and their background was more complete or full than those among the Amish. The difference in background may reflect the amount of practice in drawing or simply a lack of any instruction or stimulation in drawing. Most of the children, whether Amish or suburban, used almost no perspective in their drawings.

The number of colors used in the drawings in this sample showed differences between subcultures. The model category for the Amish was pencil and/or ink which accounted for 45 per cent of their drawings. The mode for the suburban children was four colors. The boys used fewer colors than the girls in both subcultures.

Summary and discussion of "My house" drawings: There is a demonstrable association between the content of the house drawing and the Amish culture. These house drawings reflect spacious houses with often precise detail, about the environment around the house. Most of the page was filled with content surrounding the house and conceived as part of the "home." "Home is not a place to go when there is no other place to be," says an Amish text (Nisley n.d.:174), "but the center of all good things." Amish children drew more windows than suburban children, but the latter often included more background than the Amish. Use of color quantity and variety differed from one Amish school to another. Often they were green and blue, and there was also a liberal use of red, yellows and brown.

Barnouw (1963:295) lists several criteria for analyzing house drawing. Roof symbolizes the phantasy area of life. An emphasis on chimneys may indicate sexual inadequacy (sex role inadequacy), and an indication of anxiety may be abundant smoke coming from the chimney. The way in which the artist draws the door indicates how accessible he is to other people. Gates and fences reflect guardedness. If the house is drawn as seen from above this "implies a rejection of the home situation and an assumption of superiority feelings." If seen from below this "expresses a sense of inferiority to others in the home."

Extensive examination of the house drawings shows that many of the doors are very small or absent in Amish drawings. This would seem to indicate, according to the Barnouw theory, the lack of accessibility of the Amish children to the external world. This, it should be recognized, is part of the value-orientation of Amish culture. More boys than girls included fences or gates, and it may be that since the males are more in contact with the external world they are more guarded against the larger society. Most houses are seen from below. This may indicate inferiority, but in the case of Amish culture, it probably indicates a recognition of superiors as is normative in Amish culture.

Drawings of an animal or a machine: Children are given a choice to either draw an animal or a machine. (See examples in Figures 37 to 41.) There was a noticeable sex differentiation in the drawings. Most Amish boys drew machines and most girls chose to draw an animal. An overwhelming proportion of the machine drawings were of automobiles or trucks, the animal drawings were farm or wild animals: horse, duck, rabbit, hen, deer, or bear. Colors were used more exclusively by the girls than by the boys. A knowledge of the rural environment is apparent in the animal drawings. It appears significant that most of the drawings of automobiles had little or no background (usually just the base line and the automobile). When the machine drawings are contrasted with the drawings of animals (especially for boys) the difference is noticeable. It may be that the children have difficulty relating the automotive vehicle to their environment because it is not part of their "world." It was also discovered that the English word "machine" had been adopted in the Amish dialect as a word synonymous with "automobile." This factor may have distorted the intention of giving the children a choice in drawing an animal or a machine. Nevertheless, the drawing did provide material for comparing the performance of each student on several drawings.

Psychological aspects of the drawings: An extended analysis of Amish drawings will not be made in this report but we will attempt to relate some of the findings to the literature. Michal Lowenfels, in her study of the "Spontaneous Drawings of 78 Ojibwa Children," stated that "By far the greatest handicap in this study was the chaotic condition of free drawing analysis is psychology." (Lowenfels 195-:134.) Elkish (1945) evolved her methodology by studying the 2200 drawings of 25 children, drawn during the years from nursery school and 6th grade. Elkisch was primarily interested in correlating social maladjustment with behavior on drawings. Her method of analysis rests on the formulation of polarities as follows:

Rating scale for drawings, Elkisch Criteria

Good Adjustment	Balance	Absence of Faborable Criteria
Rhythm		Rule
Complexity		Simplexity
Expansion		Compression
Integration		Disintegration
Realism		Symbolism

A brief definition and description of these polarities follows. The findings with respect to the Amish drawings are presented for each of these categories. They were selected from one of the most conservative but rather typical Amish private school. (Brush Run.) The drawings include the three made for each child (My happy time, My house, An animal or a machine) and there were 36 children and a total of 108 drawings (63 male and 45 female).

1. Rhythm and rule. Rhythm distinguished by a kinesthetically relaxed quality of line indicates a relaxed and spontaneous relationship to the surroundings. Rule indicates the reverse. Rule is expressed through a rigid quality of strokes, or else through an inert, smeary quality of stroke. In rule, there is no feeling for functioning of the space. Spontaneity is lacking and regulation is the dominant theme.

Amish findings (in per cent):

	Rhythm	Balance	Rule
Male drawings (N=63)	5	9	83
Female drawings (N=45)	18	36	46

2. Complexity and simplexity. Complexity, distinguished by well differentiated forms, indicated an individualized approach to the external world, a creative imagination and the capacity for differentiation. Simplexity reflects an inability to detach oneself, a primitivization of response and schematization. Simplexity is essentially

a regressive response in all but the very young, who have not mastered the distinction between self and non-self.

Amish findings (in per cent):

	Complexity	Balance	Simplexity
Male drawings (N=63)	59	19	22
Female drawings (N=45)	78	15	7

3. Expansion and compression. Expansion indicates direction toward the surrounding world. There are 3 types of expansion (a) presenting only part of an object which has to be completed by imagination, (b) through creation of a spacious background, (c) through creation of an experience of space by means of rhythm and integration (this is called explosion). Expansion indicates a well developed extraversion and potential ability to make contact with the environment. An explosive use of the paper, where the individual attempts to burst the bonds imposed on him by the paper boundaries may indicate explosive aggressivity and uncontrollable extraversive tendencies. Compression marked by fearful use of space indicates tension, pressure, isolation and in extreme cases may be diagnostic of compulsive obsessive neurosis.

Amish findings (in per cent):

	Expansion	Balance	Compression
Male drawings (N=63)	69	4	27
Female drawings (N=45)	78	11	11

4. Integration and disintegration. These polarities are based on the amount of organization present in the drawing. Integration may be synthetic, primarily a combinative function, with no feeling for the whole, or it may tend to centricity, in which there is organization of the whole around a center focus. Synthetic integration reflects the ability to intellectually organize while centricity is more related to the emotions. It is an indication of good emotional adjustment in a person—he can perceive the inner relationships of things. Disintegration, the absence of either of these forms of integration, reflects chaos in the individual.

Amish findings (in per cent):

	Integration	Balance	Disintegration
Male drawings (N=63)	77	16	7
Female drawings (N=45)	89	5	6

5. Realism and symbolism. These criteria imply the individual "metaphysical attitudes toward the world." (Elkish 1945:28).

Amish findings (in per cent):

	Realism	Symbolism
Male drawings (N=63)	97	3
Female drawings (N=45)	95	5

Discussion and summary: There is obviously a judgment in placing the drawings in this scale. The results are suggestive rather than definitive. From limited study it appears that rule is important in the life of both boys and girls. This would seem to indicate that regulation and conformity, rather than spontaneity, is a dominant cultural characteristic. Complexity was found to be present in over half of the drawings for both boys and girls, indicating that children have a creative imagination and capacity for differentiation in their external world. The boys displayed a greater trend toward simplexity, the tendency toward the regressive or conventional. Expansion was found in the majority of both boys and girls drawings, indicating a healthy developed extraversion and potential ability to make contact with the environment. The majority of both boys and girls had integrated drawings which tended toward centricity. Integration represents the inner harmony in the individual and centricity is related to the emotional aspect of good judgment. The overwhelming majority of the drawings are realistic rather than symbolic which supports the assumption that the children are visual artists in close association with a meaningful environment.

Discussion and summary: When the drawings were analyzed for the normal human developmental-maturational sequences it was found that many of the Amish children (particularly girls) represent their external environment unusually early.

(See Carol Vento, Appendix C.) This is manifest by the early consistent use of the base line and the sky down to the horizon, both of which indicate representation of spatial relationships. There is a realistic use of color starting at the age of six. There is early use of detail in many of the drawings. According to Lowenfeld (1952:250) the "ability to obtain spatial relationships is an important criterion of social growth." The early art development of Amish children represents an important dimension of their socialization. The de-emphasis on the self and the importance of the family and then the community in Amish society makes the child aware, at a very young age, of the external environment and the preferred patterns of the culture. Not the individual, but the family and church-community is emphasized as being important. The tendency to depict the environment early makes of the Amish children visual artists, that is, they depict the reality of the external environment instead of their subjective, individual feelings because it is the external environment (comprised of other people and objects) which is most important in their lives.

The horizon lines and spatial characteristics are perhaps one of the most distinctive features of Amish drawings. In a high horizon line the most remote objects are brought close (Mead and Wolfenstein 1955:301). This serves as a "protection, whereas low,a horizon line makes the landscape stand out and introduces a more restless atmosphere (Lowenfeld 1953:398). Meyer Shapiro (in Mean and Wolfenstein 1955:301) interprets the high horizon line as expressing a diminution of energetic striving. Of 48 drawings with horizons by males, 32 were high and 16 were low. Of 35 drawings with horizons by girls, 32 of the horizons were high and three were low. This seems to support observations from other kinds of measures that there are restraints in the culture, but that female roles are more restrained and protected than male roles. This finding, too, is consistent with the charter of the society.

Eisenman comment: (Drawings were examined by Prof. Russell Eisenman of the Department of Psychology, Temple University, for professional psychological comment. He examined the drawings from two schools, one a school in a "liberal" Old Order Amish community representing an average IQ of 112 (Goodenough-Harris test) and the other was located in a "traditional" community with an average IQ of 91.5. The school enrollments respectively were 32 and 38. He examined three drawings from each of the children: "My happy time," "My house," "An animal or a machine." His analysis follows.)

One of the most striking aspects of the drawings by Amish school children is the intellectual control displayed in the drawings. "Intellectual control" is a general term which I use to indicate several correlates.

First, the drawings suggest that the children have at least adequate intellectual ability to cope with the task at hand. The drawings appear to reflect at least average intelligence, and it can be added that the intellectual ability is not reduced to any degree by psychopathology. Thus, the drawings do not reflect the work of average intelligent schizophrenics, for example, but would seem to be those of normal children. "Normal" refers to the psychopathology dimension of normal-abnormal, and does not here imply that the children are typical of the greater American society; they simply seem to be fairly free of psychopathology, as indicated by their drawings.

A second aspect of intellectual control concerns inhibition of impulse expression. Thus, the drawings are rather concrete, down-to-earth, and do not reflect any great degree of imagination. The children seem to set out to draw a certain thing, and they depict just that, without any of the imaginative flair which a creative child might show. In other words, the drawings seem to indicate a highly socialized group, whose socialization is intense enough to (a) allow them to achieve adequately what they set out to achieve in their drawings, viz., an adequate representation of a specific scene; (b) inhibit creative expression. With regard to (b) it has been found that intense socialization inhibits creative performance (Barron, 1963), presumably because the highly socialized person is overly concerned with doing things "the right way." While this emphasis on correctness results in effective behavior whenever propriety is of the essence, it also results in a reduced capacity for solving problems that do not require the usual solution.

The above discussion should not mislead us into thinking that these Amish children are extremely depressed and inhibited persons. Although their impulse expression, and hence their creativity, would seem to be overly inhibited, their use of colors in the drawings suggest that they can be happy, playful children, and are not at all depressive in orientation. For a diagnosis of depression to be suspected, we would have to see mainly dark colors, e.g., brown, black, grey. The presence of much blue, green, and red suggests that these children are sufficiently expressive to appear rather normal, i.e., not particularly introverted, extroverted, depressed, or elated when observed in their everyday activities.

According to psychoanalytic theory, the child accepts his parents' demands by a process of introjection, in which the parents' standards are accepted as his own. The Amish would appear to be a highly introjected culture, based on their figure drawings. Children appear to accept the demands made upon them, and this may be why their rather stringent life style, relative to American standards, does not result in depression. If you talked to these children, you would hear them reflect their introjection of their parents and of their society: one suspects they would report that it is essential for one to work hard, for each person in a family to do his part, etc. This inference is derived from the matter-of-fact manner in which work is shown to be part of "my Happy Time." One of the more interesting examples of this orientation occurred in the drawing of Arlene Yoder, age 11, grade 6. Her happy-time drawing showed an Amish girl reading a book. The reader is sitting in a rather stiff position, but with a smile on her face, in a high chair. Only two things are shown in the background: a clock on the left hand side of the drawing, and a picture of a vase with flowers on the right hand side. Several features are important here. First, happiness is achieved via intellectual things, in this case reading. The girl is not shown playing, rebelling, or doing any of the things that an American school child might associate with having a good time. In fact, this picture is so non-American that a colleague of mine, not knowing that it was done by an Amish child, laughed when he saw it and commented that the drawer had a great sense of humor. His interpretation was that the picture was ludicrous, that a silly-looking person was shown reading and yet this was called "My Happy Time." My colleague's interpretation was based on his expectations about what one (an American one) might indicate as a happy time, and how that might be drawn (in a more flexible as opposed to the stiff pose drawn). In all probability, the Amish child did not intend the picture to be humorous, but was reflecting her internalization of the Amish values.

Another important aspect of the picture concerns the background. The clock indicates one's concern with time, which implies schedule and conformity to set standards. In the author's work with hippies, it has become very apparent that one of the major values of this group is its lack of emphasis on time, which has to do with their rejection of the demands of middle-class American society's values. Drugs may also be valuable in hippie culture because drugs often distort the time sense. In contrast to the hippies, the drawing with the large clock in the background indicates the child's awareness of time and its importance. Had she wanted to rebel aginst time-imposed demands she might have omitted the clock, or distorted it in some important ways. Instead, she seems to indicate acceptance of time and give it a major place in her picture. In this way she is much like many of the harried Americans who never stop to think that time is a conceptual rather than a real variable; when time is so important to one it seems almost irreverant to think of it as an artifact of man's abstractive ability.

The other background stimulus is an e.c. of a vase and flowers. At cursory glance the object appears to be flowers outside a window, but closer inspection suggests that we are merely faced with a picture of nature and not with nature itself. The emphasis on flowers is consistent with feminine identification, and is therefore quite normal in a girl. However, the fact that the girl drew a picture of a vase and flowers instead of the real thing would suggest that she feels some necessity to remove herself from the stimulus. Instead of the real vase and flowers we are faced with the concept, as shown in a picture hung on the wall. This alienation from nature is consistent with previous comments about an emphasis on seriousness and a resultant de-emphasis on spontaneity, expression, etc. Nature seems acceptable to this girl only if at least a step removed.

The pictures drawn by males and femals are sufficiently different in a consistent fashion. This implies that children tend to assume definite sex roles in the Amish society. Boys know what boys are supposed to do, and girls know what girls are supposed to do. This probably results in lessened strain for most individuals, who could be expected to conform to the indicated sex role.

A comparison of the drawings from the two different schools yields a limited amount of evidence for differences. The somewhat more Americanized Amish children draw pictures very similar to the others, and it would seem that the two groups are more alike than they are different. Presumably, a highly introjected value system is difficult to lose, even when the environmental circumstances change somewhat. However, the major difference would seem to be a stylistic one: the more Americanized group use much more of the paper. The interpretation would suggest either (a) that the group which uses more paper is more expansive, i.e., more extroverted, out-going, joyful, or otherwise more likely to be expressive in a variety of tasks, or (b) that the group which used more paper in their drawings was more involved in the task.

Involvement could be due to a greater freedom to express oneself in drawings, in which case we would assume a more uninhibited approach rapport with the examiner, and were therefore able to put themselves into the task to a greater extent than the more traditional Amish children.

Finally, it should be emphasized that analysis of personality patterns from figure drawings is a very tentative undertaking. The best approach is to view the above comments as hypotheses about the Amish, based on interpretations of a projective nature about their drawings. However, to the extent that other lines of evidence are consistent with the comments, as hypotheses about the Amish, based on interpretations of a projective nature about their drawings. However, to the extent that other lines of evidence are consistent with the comments, then the figure drawings help put meat on the skeleton.

PART THREE: CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATION

VIII. THE IMPACT OF CHANGE: TRADITIONAL AND EMERGENT LIFE STYLES

The final objective of the research is to describe the changes in socialization patterns in a framework of traditional and emergent patterns. At various places in the above chapters reference has been made to traditional and emergent styles of life but without offering any summary conclusions. The objective in this chapter is to focus on the differences between traditional and emergent patterns in the areas which have been investigated: (1) the charter with respect to the view of child nature and world view, (2) socialization practices and (3) the achievement levels of the school children. These findings indicate the values retained, values intensified, and values rejected by the traditional group.

"Traditional" as used here means preference for the "old" or experienced ways of doing things as opposed to new or untried methods. This does not imply the absence of change, for all human communities change and the Amish are no exception. Traditional does imply a preference for gradual change in a manner that will maximize the "good" of the community. In Amish terms,"Many new things are good and acceptable, but let us keep enough of the old so we do not drift into the ways of the world." (BB 2/1968:164.) Traditional connotes a style of life rather than individualistic or rational forms of decision-making. Conformity to the "unconscious" or non-verbalized feelings of community are important to the Amish person.

"Emergent" connotes change and transition and the recognition of differences from the traditional patterns by members of the group. Emergent is characterized by individualistic forms of decision-making based on rational considerations, rather than communal consensus. Both traditional and emergent styles of Amish life change, but changes in the latter are obviously more recognizable in the material symbols of culture. An emergent group is more affected by technological society (rational efficiency) and more open to consider changes in life styles, and such groups tend to be marginal cultures—neither traditional nor modern from the viewpoint of the members.

"Life style" has many connotations but as used in this investigation means the processes operating within the culture, the society, and within reference groups which guide the choices individuals ultimately make. Individuals and families have certain reference groups or certain persons whom they look to for orientation and guidance. From the limited array of choices made available by the society and the community, the reference groups and reference persons attempt to guide those who look to them in choosing which alternatives to believe and which to disbelieve. Whether a person or a family will be traditional or transitional will depend on which reference groups and reference persons they give greatest heed, for reference groups will have a powerful influence in guiding future choices. Reference groups tend to limit the contacts of a person, help him screen and interpret, and provide him with rationale for attitudes and actions. Reference groups and reference persons are a powerful influence in the determination of beliefs, actions, and education through participation in them is probably more powerful than education through reading books or listening to lectures. (Reeder 1967.)

Traditional and emergent life styles among the Amish are not confined to conservative-progressive affiliations. There are many communities with a wide diversity of practices in the sixty or more settlements in North America. Each local group is constantly striving to resolve its living problems, in terms of its local heritage and needs, which accounts for regional variation in fulfilling the charter.

Emergent life styles are manifest in assimilation patterns represented by individuals and families who no longer consider themselves Old Order Amish and who tend to affiliate with Mennonite groups. They have been called by many different names, depending on their locale. Some affiliate with the "Beachy Amish" who permit ownership of automobiles, meetinghouses, electricity, and telephones. Although the Beachy group is typical of a transitional group, the emergent patterns are not confined to this group. Polarization within Old Order affiliations in several communities conforms to a traditional-emergent typology as well.

The bi-polar theory of human cultures has been a very useful method of analysis in cultural anthropology. "Traditional" and "emergent" are not new concepts, and counterparts of the bi-polarization theories will be recognized in the concept of folk-civilization (Robert Redfield), Appolonian-Dyonesian (Ruth Benedict), sacred-secular (Howard Becker), *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* (Ferdinand Toennies), rural-urban (Horace Miner), and in the work of still other scholars. A basic consideration is that since man lives in groups, the group is an important factor in the development of the personality and the life style of the individual. Personality is shaped fairly definitely during infancy and childhood and to some extent during youth, mainly in the initmate associations of the family, play groups, and local neighborhood. These experiences have a cultural component; hence, culture acts as a carrier of culture, both society and culture are important factors in socialization.

The implicationsfor socialization in "traditional" and "emergent" social patterns follow from a statement by Ruth Benedict (1957): "The life'history of the individual is first and foremost an accomodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community. From the moment of his birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behavior. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities.

CHANGE: VIEW OF CHILD NATURE AND WORLD VIEW

When the early sources are compared with the contemporary sources, there is little difference between what is professed about human nature and child nature in the sixteenth century as opposed to the twentieth century. The belief in human nature as inherently evil is stressed by some Reformers more than others, but this emphasis persists through the centuries to the present time. The theme of innocence and simplicity also pervades the literature during the entire history of the Amish. Young children are regarded as "innocent" rather than depraved, and therefore do not need the ceremony of babtism to assure their entrance into heaven. In the early period as well as now, the Anababtists believed in the freedom of the will rather than predestination. What is emphasized is "spiritual rebirth," the transformation of "natural man" into "spiritual man." By obedience and supernatural power such a person can, with the help of his brothers, resist the sin, pride, and selfishness, which is believed to be inherent in his nature from birth.

There is some emphasis among the Amish teachers of a child nature that is basically "loving, tender-hearted, affectionate, and well-intentioned . . . who will do anything in their power to please the teacher." writes Byler (1965:15). "When our Savior said, 'Suffer the children to come unto Me' He gave us a valuable lesson on children . . . . He did not consider them basically mean, mischievious, hard to handle or He would not have spoken these words." The greatest change in the conception of child nature can be observed in the child rearing practices themselves rather than in their writings. The Amish are not given to writing polemics about their view of human nature. Seldom in contemporary times have they been forced to express their views on this subject. The stress on the evil nature of children is given greatest emphasis by the emergent Amish as will be noted in the next section. This changing emphasis is related to the changes in the larger world view.

Relation to world view

The changing conceptions of child nature are related to the problem of community self-realization and the encompassing total world view. The emergent Amish are in greater contact with the general society than are the traditional Amish, and each is faced with the existential problem of natural existence in time and space, in an environment where institutions and ecology vary, and in an industrialized society where money is a necessary condition for existence. Changes in the perception of the external world may be regarded as a necessary condition for real life.

The traditional Amish have maintained a clearly defined dualistic conception of the world, with sharp cultural definitions of church and "world." Man was created and placed in the garden to care for the created world of God, albeit through the fall he is now living in a wilderness under evil influence. The members view themselves as separate from the world not only in life goals, but also in fashio and in material possessions. The community (*Gemeinschaft*) is looked upon as a separate entity living in but "not of the world." The will of God for his people is that they be "not conformed to this world," and "not unequally yoked with unbelievers," but "a peculiar people."

"World progress" in the view of the traditional Amish means worldly wisdom and forsaking God. As individuals fall prey to the temptations of the world, or turn to more worldly churches, the traditional group attempts to withdraw even more from the world. Instead of serving on local public school boards as was common practice years ago, Amish fathers are now forbidden to hold these positions. Instead of sending their children to the one-room public school as was the practice earlier, they now attend their own church supported small schools. Attendance at consolidated public schools is forbidden, and Amish children are instead taught by Amish members. The feeling that "we are a people, a chosen people, apart from all other people," can be retained best under conditions of limited contact with outside groups.

In the emergent group, by contrast, the view of the world is conditioned by greater contact with out-groups, by awareness and concern for others outside the culture. The charter is modified from conforming to tradition to an emphasis on individual study and interpretation of the Bible. With a change in world view comes greater personal freedom and apportunity for intellectual activity, as well as physical mobility. The Amish people, according to this emergent view, are not by tradition "a chosen people," but are little different from any other people.

Among the emergent Amish judgmental and critical thinking is more noticeable and more openly practiced. "Tradition" as practiced by the Old Order is viewed as a block to progress. Capacity for self-evaluation and self-criticism emerges as marginal reference groups develop, such as the Bible study renewal groups. Polarity within the Old Order is represented by two kinds of critical groups. The one is a renewal effort hoping to retain the good graces within the culture and by slow influence to alter the "dead" society. The other is the self-hate group that seeks to demoralize and abolish the traditional system, but such efforts are often individualistic. When these individuals organize there is usually a division and the development of an emerging Amish group.

The emergent group tends to shift in the direction of modern Mennonitism and Protestantism in its view of reality. Concern for "lost souls" emerges along with individual "assurance of salvation" and missionary activity. The traditional Amish are regarded by the emergent Amish as "a prospective mission field to whom the Gospel should be preached."

Economic and benevolent relationships with the local non-Amish community are reflected in the different life styles, traditional and emergent. Traditional groups have curbed with greatest success the participation of its members in all affairs outside the little community. This has been by consistency in the traditional charter; i.e., by the doctrine of nonconformity to the world or of the unequal yoke, by the severe punishment of offenders, and by socializing the offspring for maintaining these core values.

The economic goals of the great society are avoided as much as the living, problematic situation will permit. Resources are important to the Old Order for the achievement of community goals; hence some involvement is necessary. Greater dependence on outside resources and services changes the habits of buying and selling, of interpersonal relations in the community and domestic life, and in handcrafts. Change is structured by the local church-community and although slow, is managed in such a way as to maximize oral consensus.

The emergent groups, on the other hand, are involved in farming that is technologically no different from other farmers. There is concern and responsibility for the world outside the community, including the attempt to convert the outsider not to the traditional Amish patterns but to the general Protestant-Christian faith. Concerns for other professing Christians outside the local community, and for poor and underprivileged persons, requires organization and co-operation with outside agencies which the emergent groups are willing to do. There is the beginning of foreign service in relief and missionary work, interest in publication in both the German and English language, and limited interest in education. Members frequently find fulfillment of these interests in Mennonite institutions or in closs association with this group.

Both traditional and emergent groups of Amish are attempting to preserve the social cohesion of their communities through appropriate child rearing patterns. Technology or education that is inconsistent with the social patterns is resisted but with differential success. Integration and unity is attempted in both. The traditional culture has maintained a consistency of unity, a system of symbols and myths which give integration to the members of the society. Although their members are not free from psychological breakdown, they experience more continuity in life patterns than the emergent group. The emergent culture is threatened by the lack of integration caused by the loss of myths and symbols which were functional in the traditional group. Non-Amish persons who are attracted to the Amish as converts usually join the emergent groups and some attempt to supply new myths and interpretations for the disintegrating group. But these persons usually come not from a "wisdom" (sensing-feeling) tradition but from a culture that teaches people how to intellectualize their beliefs.

CHANGE: SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS

The traditional Amish believe that babies are incapable of sin or willfulness: young children can be disobedient, but not sinful. They see the child as having potentialities for both good and evil, and it is the parents' responsibility to create an environment that encourages Christian qualities and discourages non-Christian qualities. The traditional Amish are confident of their babies, their pre-school children and even their school age children as long as they can protect them within the family and the community and shelter them from "the world."

In contrast the emergent Amish have been influenced by the general Protestantism of the surrounding culture, especially Fundamentalism and the Calvinism that was common in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century. The Calvinists believed in "infant depravity"—the child was not only born in sin, but was born sinful and had to be "made" good by proper training and the Grace of God. To quote a New England father writing in 1834, "No child has ever been known since the earliest period of the world, destitute of an evil disposition—however sweet it appears." (Dwight 1834:27.) A Beachy Amish preacher, (The Beachy Amish are emergent in contrast to traditional) warned his congregation that a baby of three months who humps up his back and cries in anger, should be spanked, for display of anger must never be permitted at any age. The traditional Amish would perceive of the baby as unhappy, or possibly "spunky" rather than wicked. The emergent Amish tend to place more emphasis on physical punishment, and on the cleansing effect of pain than do the traditional Amish.

In a 20-page pamphlet on "The Responsibility of Parents in Teaching and Training Their Children" (Landis n.d.:), 11 pages are devoted to the proper use of physical punishment; of 14 Bible quotations, seven have to do with the use of the rod: Proverbs 22:15, 13:24, 19:18, 20:30, 23:13-14, 19:15, 29:17. One section speaks of "The Rod of Correction: A Means of Moral Cleansing—Proverbs 20:30. 'The blueness of a wound cleanseth away evil: so do stripes the inward parts of the belly.' . . . Is it not much better to have the child carry marks of the rod a few days than to have him leave a wake of rebellion and self-will behind him for a lifetime?" This quotation comes up fairly often in conversation with the emerging Amish on child rearing.

The traditional Amish do not stress feelings of guilt, for wrongdoing can be completely forgiven when confessed humbly and replaced by proper behavior. The traditional Amish believe that children are able to sin, rather than that they are sinners. The emergent Amish tend to stress guilt as a necessary Christian emotion. The traditional Amish community is more supportative of its members, the emergent community more judgmental.

The traditional Amish religion is ritualistic and practical rather than theological and mystical. The communicants are held together by shared knowledge and shared experience, rather than by theological understanding. The fact that everyone knows "Das Lob Lied" and sings it as the second hymn in each Sunday service is of more importance as a unifying factor than understanding exactly what the words of "Das Lob Lied" mean. It is more important that the song be understood emotionally than intellectually. The traditional Amish discourage Biblical exegesis. In contrast, the emergent Amish are more "doctrinally" inclined and may spend hours discussing the interpretation of various Biblical texts.

The traditional Amish fulfill their needs for human support and interaction within the community. All their emotional needs and to a surprising extent their physical needs are met within the community. Their religious development is community structured with such rites as baptism being dictated by age, season of year and community readiness.

In contrast the emergent Amish are much more dependent on the outside world. They are more aware of it and feel more concern for it. They support missionaries who leave the community to work in the world. Their religious development is more individualistic as is evidenced by an emphasis on a personal emotional experience of rebirth.

Their greater contact with the world is likely to lead to a discontinuity in personal development that the traditional Amish never experience. Typically the traditional Amish man can grow steadily towards adulthood, while the emergent Amish person needs a personal integrative experience to overcome the discontinuity he has experienced.

The following paragraphs written by a young mother could almost be a paraphrase of a Calvinistic article published in the *Mother's Magazine* of the mid-nineteenth century. It appeared in the *Blackboard Bulletin* (April 1965) and was included by Stoll (1967:40) in *The Challenge of the Child:*

> "Our second child wasn't very old till his stubborn nature began to show. The tears still come when I think back to the morning when I decided things had gone far enough, his will must be broken!. . . Breakfast was on the table, and I was waiting for my husband to come in, when this little boy threw his bread on the floor. Gently I asked him to pick it up. He looked at me so sternly and shook his head. No, he would not. He did not move from the spot, but just stood there. I sat down on the floor beside him, strap in hand, and explained that he must pick it up or Mommy would spank.
>
> "He refused, so I spanked, then explained again. This kept on for an hour till my husband came in. He explained and spanked till I though, 'Oh, no, not another whipping. How can he refuse any long to obey?' Once he started to reach down, but then something in him rebelled again. At long last he did give up, and what a happy humble child he was. With tears streaming, we all went out to a cold breakfast which had been waiting for two hours."

The mother explained, "I can assure you it wasn't a nice thing to go through" but we parents must try to "teach our children in love and with patience the difference between right and wrong." This excerpt shows that the parents support one another in dealing with the child, that they were sad about such necessary punishment, and that they were willing to let their breakfast spoil in order to live up to their concept of parental responsibility—to teach their children that stubborness is wrong and obedience is right.

Among the traditional Amish it is rare that obedience becomes such an issue. A contrasting comment, also from the *Blackboard Bulletin* (1968:169) suggests: "Always use the mildest punishment that will do the work. . . . Spank sparingly; use the whip rarely. Corporal punishment is easily overdone. Save it for the few worst offenses, and it will be effective. If you use it frequently, it is useless."

The child's early introduction to religion and his attitude toward religion has been observed to be strikingly different in the two life-cycles, traditional and emergent. The experience of the child in the church service will illustrate the difference. Among the traditional Amish the place of the worship service is within the geographical and psychological boundaries of the culture—in a farm home, and in the summer, often in a barn. Here there is always the familiar environment and noises of every day life: horses are unhitched and tied in the barn where they are chewing hay, there are sparrows, robins, and pigeons. The quiet movements of the children mingle with these sounds and are accepted as a part of God's world and the nature of things. Religion is not separated from the farm or the community. The service itself is primarily ritualistic with the long sermon consisting of a cursory survey of the Bible and a generalized message for God's people who are gathered here together. The sermon is smoothly delivered, often in rythm, telling familiar Biblical episodes. About midway during the service when children tend to become restless (or to keep them from becoming restless) a dish of cookies may be passed to the younger children. If they become too restless, both father and child may go outdoors for a short time to obtain a drink, perhaps from the running water spigot at the horse trough at the barn. Small children are permitted to sleep in a leaning position beside a parent. Babies are taken upstairs or to another room after they fall asleep. A mother with a sleeping child in her arms does not disturb him by kneeling to pray. In the traditional Amish worship setting, children are rarely seen as being disruptive because their controlled childishness does not disturb the adults.

Among the emergent Amish, the worship service is a very different experience from every day life. The place of the service is away from the farm home, usually in a church building erected solely for the purpose of worship. It is a silent sanctuary, a "house of God," instead of the home of people. (Holiness is separated out from the farm and daily environment.) The sermon is more theological (printed word) and since there is more emphasis on listening and understanding the sermon, greater importance is attached to quietness so that everyone hears the words clearly. There is a specific passage and "message" taken from one or more selected Biblical texts that must be understood intellectually and applied individually. The service is intended as a time of renewal or re-evaluation. Because of the emphasis on silence (broken occasionally by the "Amens" of a few men) babies are kept in the back of the room or behind glass in a separate nursery where the "message" (the Word) is "piped in"to the attending mothers by a public address system. Any childish noise or restlessness is disruptive to the emergent Amish service. Therefore children are punished quickly for disturbing or interfering with the flow of the message (the Word). If a child is taken out of the service it is not for refreshment but usually for punishment. There is no food at the service, there is no time of free sociability for the children.

The feeling tone of the traditional Amish service is one of togetherness, a confident togetherness, enjoying the pleasure of being a separate, "a peculiar people." There is little emphasis on listening to the sermon; all can hear who wish to hear. Togetherness does not depend on intellectually understanding the sermon, but on worshiping together. The individual feels support and acceptance in the sharing of the ritual. The experience of togetherness is also one of kinship, with siblings, cousins, uncles, aunts, and grandparents coming together for the service.

The feeling tone among the emergent Amish is, by contrast, one of earnestness. The behavior standards are so rigid that it is virtually impossible for young children and young mothers to meet the requirements. Consequently a greater feeling of guilt develops among children and adults alike. On account of the type of message and style of sermon, the individual tends to be more conscious of the fact that he is being judged by God, by the ministers, and by one another.

Religion may be tiring among the traditional Amish, but it is comfortable and supportive. Children are taught to behave, rather than made to behave. The traditional life style as a supportive system enables proper behavior within the church or any other place to develop as a result of maturation. Among the emergent Amish there is more emphasis on making the individual behave both within the church and in the society. The children in the traditional Amish groups associate the worship service with food, play, sociability, and news about the community and relatives, with an integrated pattern of life. The children in the emergent Amish associate the worship service with more judgmental behavior and also punishment from adults which in turn creates an ambivalent feeling toward religion.

The children in the traditional Amish group are not pushed at an early age to read the Bible. The Amish parents feel it is best if the Bible is taught (the oral tradition) by the parents rather than have them struggle with both the reading technique and the concepts before they are mature. Their first introduction to the Bible is generally through Bible stories read and related to them. In keeping with the oral tradition Bible stories with a minimum of comment or interpretation may be read in Amish schools.

Among the emergent Amish Bible reading is introduced at an early age. The child is expected to read the Bible when he has barely mastered the skill of reading, so that he struggles with both the technique of learning to read and of applying what he learns to be difficult material. With a strong emphasis on Bible reading, the children of the emergent Amish frequently feel guilty if they read things other than the Bible or church publications.

A fundamental difference between traditional and emergent groups is the difference in symbolic communication. The emergent group is attempting to verbalize a symbol system that has always been essentially oral and sensing. This process covers a wide range of subjects, touching on those issues that threaten the transitional group most. A few examples appear in the policy statement of a newly organized publishing house formed by factions, some of whom are Mennonites turned radically conservative but who have also attracted emergent Amish individuals and families. In discussing "Safeguards for the home" the sale or use of radio or televisions is "out of bounds of Christian propriety." (Rod and Staff Publishers, "Statement of Ideals," n.d.). Musical instruments are forbidden in the home for they "foster appreciation of such music in the entertainment and religious worlds." Also forbidden are "publications that favor or advertise the liquor traffic, war, and other gross social evils such as race prejudice and oppression of minority groups."

The traditional Amish home conforms to these patterns without the need of calling attention to them as ideals, much less expressing them in writing. The practice in life participation is important rather than the formalization of "safeguards."

Emergent Amish groups emphasize plain dress and avoidance of "nakedness" and the dress of "fallen man." "This perversion is continually exploited by the Devil through commercial interests, promoting fashions that cater to the evil and vain hearts of men and women, boys and girls." A "uniform costume" is advocated, for such a uniform reflects the stability of God's eternal principles." This uniform includes the "cape dress" for women and girls, dark hose and shoes "not modeled after dancing slippers or vain trappings of fashion with spike heels, exposed toes or undue display of the foot." the "plain bonnet worn over the veiling and covering the hair as a protective covering will not be mistaken for worldly costume." Parents are warned "not to sin against God and the children in heaping vanities of decoration and fashion on their children." (Rod and Staff

Publishers. Tract, "Eve is Again Listening to the Voice of the Serpent," n.d.).

Again, the traditional Amish groups do all of these things without the aid of written policies. With them it is a life participation principle. The emergent Amish who depart from the oral and go to the written symbol system, attempt to maintain the older forms by the use of theological language. The need for rendering rules in writing becomes inexhaustible: use of slang, funeral and wedding customs, taboos against theatre-going, mixed-bathing, playing games in public places, athletic clubs, boating sports, two-tone cars, with added ornaments," placing ribbons on prize-winning cattle or on crops, and many other specifities.

The intensive effort to "Biblicize" all aspects of life with written language results in narrowing human experience to that of the policy forming group. In its more restricted aspects, there have been efforts on the part of some teachers to limit scientific knowledge to the content of the Bible. Thus in a course in "Christian Biology" the names of the birds in the Bible are taught. Health is taught by the use of biblical accounts on such topics as "Eating and marrying," "Diet," "Rest and recreation," "Keeping the body pure," "Healing the body," "Endurance," "Self-control," and "Clothing and bodily modesty." Spelling word lists are selected from the Bible. "A Christian Approach to Teaching English" formed the basis of a talk at a parent-teacher meeting. (Lowry 1966.) "Math in the Bible" is the title of another syllabus.

The traditional Amish emphasize and preach the whole of the Bible. The emergent tend to fragment the Bible and emphasize selected passages in a more exegetical approach to the uses of the Bible. The Old Order are practical or task-oriented and do not attempt to limit human experience by the use of such concepts. Their orientation is one of education through life participation rather than education through formal (school) participation. The traditional Amish (more than the emergent) do not assume that the more knowledge, the better. They know by experience the "dangerous" or ambivalent characteristics of academic knowledge—that learning can also destroy. By emphasizing the practical, resisting the process of verbalization and rationalization, the traditional Amish have retained more spontaneity than have some of the emergent groups.

Another source of great concern to the emergent group is the changing role of woman, for in a transitional culture the sex roles are less well structured. "It is exceedingly dangerous for a woman to get out of her orbit. God never created woman to rule man. His whole Word is against it. Because of this broken law, the curse of God is on the home, church, society, and nation . . . Eve is surely listening to the voice of the serpent again. God cursed Adam for 'hearkening to the voice of his wife' in the matter (Gen. 3) . . . Home, family, husband, mean nothing to the modern woman. She must rule or ruin. Men too often effeminately coincide with her. This makes possible woman's false position. We are living in an effeminate age. Christianity has become effeminate. It takes a man to hold the Gospel plow. God made Adam first, then woman for his helper. God is not changing His order." (Rod and Staff Publishers, "Eve . . .," n.d.).

The degeneracy of civilization is associated with "Satan's plot" to corrupt woman. "Womanhood of the nation is running to harlotry. Movie stars set American standards, instead of the Bible. . . . A few years ago, women we now see everywhere on our streets would have been arrested for stark indecency, and relegated to the red-light district. The morals of Sodom are becoming those of America. . . . Woman's fall has wrecked civilization in the past. It will wreck America also." (Rod and Staff Publishers, Ibid.)

The traditional Amish are much less judgmental of the outside world and do not presume to set standards for those not of their church-community. The role of their women is also by contrast clearly defined in the social patterns; it does not have to be discussed or verbalized.

The emergent Amish are susceptible to extra-community influences as revival meetings and Protestant devotional literature that have little meaning for the traditional Amish. These influences which obviously affect changed in their technology and economic patterns also affect the less obvious such as child-training patterns. The interplay between the traditional and the emergent Amish may reflect undertones of antagonism in which the emergent Amish try to influence the traditional Amish with their beliefs and attitudes.

CHANGE: ACHIEVEMENT SCORES

The traditional-emergent typology in the previous section was used to describe the culture as a whole by making inductive generalizations based upon field work. In this section the use of "traditional" and "emergent" is used in a more restricted definition. It was hypothesized that the Amish pupils in public schools would be better achievers than the Amish pupils in Amish (parochial) schools. (Chapter III.) For purposes of testing this hypothesis it was assumed that the Amish schools represent the "traditional" Amish and that the Amish in public schools represent "emergent" Amish groups. The comparisons for SRA (IQ) and Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (achievement) are shown in Table 31.

Table 31. School Test Scores by Traditional and Emergent Amish Types for Various Tests

Skills Tested	Traditional (Amish schools)	Emergent	
		In all Amish Schools	Mixed Schools
SRA:			
Language	90.3	90.3	93.8
Reasoning	102.2	103.1[†]	105.2[†]
Quantitative	103.0	105.8[†]	98.2
Composite	96.2	97.1[†]	97.5[†]
Iowa:			
Vocabulary	-1.61	-1.86	-2.23
Comprehension	-1.20	-1.34	-1.20
Spelling	0.51	0.09	0.28
Word Usage	0.64	-0.37	-0.37
Reference	-1.00	-0.34[†]	-0.74[†]
Arithmetic	1.06	1.14[†]	0.02

[†] Indicates score difference between traditional and emergent types in support of the hypothesis but the differences were not statistically significant.

The "emergent" groups are presented in two categories, those Amish in all-Amish public schools and those Amish pupils who attend public school with non-Amish. The differences are slight. The traditional Amish tend to have slightly lower IQ scores than the emergent but the differences are not statistically significant. To conclude that pupils in Amish schools have lower IQ scores than the Amish in public schools is not substantiated by the data.

On the achievement tests (Iowa), the hypothesis that the emergent Amish are better achievers than the traditional Amish is not supported by the data. The findings indicate the reverse. The traditional Amish score higher in most of the skills tested than do the emergent Amish.

There are certain limitations in grouping as "emergent" all those Amish who attend the public school and as "traditional" those Amish who attend parochial Amish schools. The assumption is that the Old Order withdraw their children from the public school and place them in an Amish operated school and that the emergent Amish do not. From our observations in various settlements, it would appear that this is not always the case.

Differences between traditional and emergent Amish were observed in several additional tests and exercises. On the Goodenough-Harris drawing test the "traditional" scores 7.5 points higher than the "emergent" Amish. The pupils in Amish schools scored higher than the Amish in public schools on the drawing test. (Table 16.)

Differences between traditional and emergent were observed in the cultural content of the Goodenough-Harris drawing test. The traditional Amish drew more Amish-like features in their test drawings than did the emergent Amish. (Table 19.) More "English" or alien features were found in the test drawings of Amish children who attended the public school. Among the emergent type more Amish girls than boys drew "English" subjects in their "man" and "woman" drawings. When they drew "self" a marked sex difference was also observed. Boys in the emergent category drew themselves as "English" to a far greater extent than did the girls. The findings suggest that, although the traditional Amish score equally well or higher than the emergent Amish, there are informal influences that greatly alter the perception patterns of the child.

There are several critical issues in testing minority groups. The above findings are by no means conclusive. The findings do, however, indicate that whether the Amish children are in public or private school settings there is little significant difference in scores for the standardized tests that were given. To adequately test the difference between traditional and emergent affiliations, additional sampling would be desirable.

IX. IMPLICATIONS: FINDINGS RELEVANT TO PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION

LOCAL CONTROL

Local control by a culturally divergent group can work even when judged by American public school standards of achievement. Today there is a great deal of discussion and interest in the validity of local control for public schools. Strong emotions as well as zealous arguments are voiced on both sides of the question. Some advocates base their arguments on the quality of education possible, others are concerned about such problems as racial integration, and still others are impressed with the need for sufficient flexibility in the educational system to meet the requirements of children from divergent cultural backgrounds. A rather typical, and somewhat unimaginative, statement on local control was published by Thomas D. Bailey, Florida State Superintendent of Public Instruction, in the *National Education Association Journal* (December 1961, in Dahl, et. al. 1964:297-301.) He pointed out that small independent school districts "contribute to mediocrity in education by today's standards." (He did not, however, support this statement with any statistics.) While admitting that the issue was being debated nationally his real feelings on the subject, which seem to be shared by many school administrators and quite a few governors, were summed up in the final sentence of the article: "To those of us who have administrative responsibilities in education, the concept of local control believed by segments of our senior citizens is folklore and for some years has been outmoded." (See also Lieberman, *Ibid.*, 324-338 and Freeman, *Ibid.*, 287.) In striking contrast are the sentiments expressed by the principal of a school in Washington, D.C.: "The community-control movement is irreversible." (Haskins, 1969:54.) The question of local control or community control can perhaps be more easily assessed if studied in a context that is not emotionally charged by questions of racial differences. Our study of "Educational Achievement and Life Styles of the Old Order Amish" has proved to be an interesting case study in the demand for local control by a culturallly different minority within our culture. The parallels to the responses of the black population offer insight into educational problems of the ghetto.

As long as the public schools were small in size and therefore local in character the Amish exerted an influence in the school as had the Swedes and Finns in some other localities, and although the schools did not completely meet the needs of the Amish population, by concessions on both sides, they were able to work together. However, with consolidation it became evident that the public schools were not adequately serving the Amish children. The Amish then attempted to modify the school system. Where they succeeded as in Garrett County, Maryland, (Hostetler 1958) the Amish children remained in the public school and thus continued to be taught by certified teachers in schools equipped with electricity, visual aids, and phonographs. They were in an educational situation in which their distinctive culture was respected while they were at the same time introduced to aspects of middle-class American society. Where the state school officials remained rigid and made no attempt to understand or work with the Amish, the Amish withdrew completely from the public schools and built and staffed their own private schools. For over one hundred years the Amish chose to remain within the public school system but eventually, because of changes in public school philosophy and organization, they felt forced to build their own schools. By Amish standards the public schools had become intolerable for their children. In a similar response, although the specifics of the situation are admittedly very different, the black community has decided that it must make the decisions about what can and cannot be tolerated for their children in terms of public schooling. When they have found that they were not able to participate in the school or effect changes in it (Kazol 1967) their recourse has been school boycotts, strikes, etc., as they do not have the resources to support their own schools. Not only do they run into financial difficulties but it is difficult for them to get state accreditation. Other culture groups in our country such as the Chinese, Japanese, and Jews have established supplementary schools to teach their language and culture to their children (Forbes n.d.:14).

From our study of the Amish it would appear that when the public school officials "recognize and honor responsible diversity" (Sizer 1969:42) then the needs of a minority cultural group can be met within the public school system.

Many responsible persons have feared to implement local control or more correctly involvment of the parents in the schools, when the local adults are lacking in formal education. How can the Navaho, who perhaps has had only four or five years (NYT Nov. 21, 1966:3; Dec. 4, 1966: 62) of school, make any real contribution to the school his children attend? Or the black mother who never finished high school, or the Amish father who only went to elementary school, or the Mexican-American, or the Puerto Rican? The Old Order Amish have demonstrated that not only are they able to make a substantial contribution to policy-making in local public schools when they are permitted to, but still more significantly they can organize and staff their own schools without any outside help, and despite discouraging legal suits initiated by the state. Our findings indicate that the Amish children in the parochial schools tested slightly, but significantly, higher on achievement tests than those who were attending public schools. This would seem to indicate that the public school system could be improved by respecting cultural differences and encouraging members of minority groups to participate in the organization and implementation of their children's schooling. If members of their own cultural minority did participate in the schools perhaps Indian children would not suffer educationally and psychologically during their later school years (Murray Wax, et. al.:1964), and black children would not be as withdrawn and alienated from the school by the time they reach the upper elementary grades. A study of a London school in which twenty-nine per cent of the children were immigrants, from Cyprus, the West Indies, and Italy indicated that parental involvement in the school, even when the parents were almost lacking in formal education, and quite inarticulate in English, resulted in "small but significant improvement in some of the scores of the children when they were tested." (Lady Plowden: Introduction to Young and McGeeney 1968.)

The London study further indicated that it was to everyone's advantage and especially to the children's educational development, to involve the local community. In discussing the possible implementation of these findings, it should be noted that "the Head" (principal) and the teachers initially were not enthusiastic about involving the parents. Similarly the American middle-class teachers' unawareness of the inner city parents' concern for their children's education comes up repeatedly in Estelle Fuchs, *Teachers Talk* (1969). The lack of teacher acceptance of community control is one of the great issues in New York city schools. (Roberts 1968:97-101.)

This investigation of Amish schools illustrates that local control (in this case complete local control, with no funds or supplies from the government) can work well even though the parents have a limited educational background (eight years at the most), speak English as a second language, and are culturally different from the prevailing American culture. By "can work well" we mean that the parents are satisfied with the schools, the children who graduate from them are well prepared for adult life, and even as judged by public school standards (measured by success on standardized tests) the children are adequately taught.

TRAINING IN VOCATIONAL "ETIQUETTE"

The Amish have devised a vocational training program that teaches not only technical skill but also the associated "worker's etiquette." They teach the vocational role in addition to the job skill. There are those students for whom an academically oriented high school program is not suited. Such students may profit from a vocational program. Vocational techniques can be taught within the four walls of the school. Here the boys can learn to repair an automobile engine, weld a pipe, or wire a circuit. This is one level of "learning by doing" (Plutte, in Dahl, et. al. 1964); the student actually works with three dimensional objects rather than reading about them in books. However, there is more to holding down a job than being able to perform the basic tasks. There is a job etiquette that also needs to be mastered. The best way to learn this is outside of the school, working on a real job, although in a somewhat sheltered and directed position. This the Amish have managed admirably by having the children work under their parents' direction and supervision. The high school age children learn not only how to perform a task, such as how to cut silage, but also when to cut it and how to integrate the cutting of the silage into all the other work that is required of the vocation "farmer." The children also learn how to interact with people with whom they work. In other words, instead of learning just a vocational technique they are learning a "job role."

Adolescents learn much faster by actual participation than by talking about participation. Working at real jobs outside the school walls helps some students to envisage their adult roles and their place in society. Were a program similar to the Amish vocational school program to be implemented by a public school, the selection of individuals to direct and train the students might pose a problem, for in our mobil and diversified society the children's parents would rarely be the ideal individuals to direct the training. However, a directed apprentice program could be worked out that would enable the student to master the etiquette of the job, how to behave in relation to his superiors and towards his co-workers. With such a vocational program he could develop a realistic concept of the job role for which he was training. Hopefully he would graduate an educated person—at least by the pragmatic standard that the "man is educated who is on to his job." (Aaron E. Beiler 1961:6.)

There is an underlying assumption in most educational policies in the United States that academic achievement is the most important object of all schooling, and if the school reform does not affect academic achievement, it is worthless. Despite these assumptions, says Christopher Jencks (1969) in his "Reappraisal" of the Coleman report (1966). "there is little evidence that academic competence is critically important to adults in most walks of life." Most employers will not hire dropouts for reasons other than academic incompetence. It is for moral, social, and emotional reasons: too often the dropouts do not get to work on time, they cannot be counted on to do a careful job, cannot be trusted with other peoples' property or goods, and cannot get along well with others in the office or plant. The teaching of more history, verbal skills, or science will not suffice; what is needed is training in self-discipline and self-respect.

CERTIFIED BUT DISQUALIFIED TEACHERS

Teacher certification, as generally practiced, is too narrow. It excludes those individuals who may be best qualified to teach children of culturally divergent groups. The Amish have rejected certified teachers in favor of qualified teachers. The Amish teacher must transmit the Amish culture to the children as well as teach them basic educational skills. In order to do this the teacher must be a participating member of the Amish culture. Because the Amish limit formal education for their members (while encouraging continuing informal learning) their teachers do not meet state certification standards. Those individuals who meet the state standards are not qualified by Amish standards and are incapable of teaching Amish children "by the example of their lives." Because of the limited formal educational training of the Amish teachers there has been widespread concern about the quality of the teaching the Amish children are receiving in their schools. The present study demonstrates that even though the teachers are not certified, they are in actuality qualified, and that the children receive an education that admirably prepares them for life as Amishmen in twentieth century United States. The children aspire to the occupational roles available to them, they succeed in these roles and enjoy their chosen vocations. Even when the children are judged by the narrow standards of achievement tests they illustrate that they are receiving a satisfactory education in the basic academic skills.

Perhaps the concept of "qualified teacher" in addition to "certified teacher" should be considered for schools serving other cultural groups. It has been suggested that selected black veterans might be encouraged to teach in ghetto elementary schools. These men would be chosen on the basis of personality, achievement, and ability rather than on specific educational background. They would be given a very short intensive course, perhaps of only a few weeks, before they began teaching. Similarly Indian and Mexican-American teachers might also be incorporated into the local school system to help make the education relevant to the child being educated, to establish an atmosphere of respect between the teacher and the pupil, and to develop a vital parent-teacher relationship which has repeatedly been demonstrated to be essential for the effective education of the child. (NYT, October 17, 1966:34; Young and McGeeney 1968:107-130; Grant 1964: Wylie 1957:55-97; Toffler, ed.). Individuals from the community might teach such culturally specialized skills as silver working, indigenous music, legends and minority cultural history. In other words, people with little formal education should be in certain cases welcomed into the classroom and acknowledged as not only satisfactory teachers, but superior teachers.

TRAINING FOR BOTH TECHNOLOGY AND WISDOM

Every human society, if it is to survive and flourish, must teach the young both skills and wisdom. The first has to do with techniques of survival and the latter with knowing how to relate to other human beings in an orderly way. The Amish genius is that of training their children for continuity, of training them in wisdom (*Logos*) to which training in technique (*Techne*) is consciously subordinated. The Anabaptists have always stressed training for life participation (here and for eternity) and have warned of the dangers of "pagan" philosophy and the intellectual enterprises of "fallen man." They are not opposed to education, for out of their sixteenth century tradition came the first universal system of free education. They are opposed to taking as the norm for education, training in science and technical competence.

True education for the Amish as for their predecessors, the Anabaptists, is the cultivation of humility (*Demut*), simple living, and resignation to the will of God (*Gelassenheit*). For generations they have centered their schooling in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the moral teachings of *Logos* (the Bible). "They avoided the training which seemed to produce only pride of place, enjoyment of power, and the skills of covert or overt violence." (Littell, in Erickson 1969:69.) Wisdom is allied with the preliterary and the oral tradition. Its practice consists of memorization, rhetoric, and a personal relationship between teacher and pupil. Its functioning is primarily communal and supremely social. The spiritual bond that unites the social body has a sacred character. Sharp distinctions between "school" and "life" do not exist. (Marrou 1956:272.) Singing, recitation, and reciting syllables together constitutes knowledge of great psychological importance. The person who is socialized in a strong oral tradition much prefers being taught from the lips of a living person to learning from the written word. Writing tends to depersonalize man's access to information (Cox 1965:10).

Clearly our industrial society depends upon technicians and scientists; and scientists and engineers will make atomic bombs and ABM systems. Such a society needs the restraint of wisdom; and it needs the cultivation of the arts of knowing how to live, the discipline of self reliance, and an appreciating of diverse human resources. The discrepancy between technology and the spiritual character of modern man is one of the recurring problems of American society. In discussing the implications of the first moon landing, Arnold Toynbee, pointed out that we could survive without apparatus, but that we could not survive without at least a minimum of good behavior. It is common knowledge that there are more scientists living today than the total of scientists to be counted among the dead.

The emphasis on scientific competence has diminished the emphasis on "wisdom." Education has come to mean, the pursuit of science, analysis, criticism, skepticism, and an attitude of tentativeness toward all subject matter. The consequences are human and spiritual impoverishment. Modern man is dependent upon the merely contemporary. Countless young people enter our colleges and universities with little or no knowledge of the spiritual heritage of this nation. Modern man who is sensitized to new impressions and impulses from rapid and effective communications, has difficulty adequately appreciating the role of tradition. In the training for technical competence the subject matter takes precedence over the interpersonal relations. Once the philosophical premise is lost, the ocean of facts becomes infinite, and "the novice may readily become a most competent practitioner who lacks a center as a person." (Littell, in Erickson 1969:73.)

What are the implications for public school policy? Many studies have shown that something is seriously wrong with our educational policy when it deals with traditional subcultures. Murray and Rosalie Wax (1964) have advanced the thesis that although Indian children may remain in school for a certain number of years, the last few years especially are educationally worthless and psychologically destructive. Gradual alienation and withdrawal from the school experience in the upper grades is a common theme running through many studies. Hickerson (1966) says, "The inability of affluent-oriented teachers in American society to understand or cope with the behavior of children from economically deprived families is often of paramount importance in alienating those children from the public schools. It is this clash of value commitments that, more than any other factor, drives our Negro, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Indian, and economically deprived caucasian children out of the school and into the street . . . .They have been attacked at the point of great vulnerability, their own value structure."

Communal groups and even ghetto groups, whose culture is largely based on interpersonal relations and an oral tradition, have some psychological strengths rarely found in the culture of the modern schools. The inappropriateness of applying the norm of "technical competency" to these wisdom-oriented cultures should be obvious. Our study of Amish socialization, and especially the results of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, clearly suggests the folly of trying to make scientists out of Amish children. We suspect the same would be true of other cultures of the oral-tradition type. The extraordinarily high scores of the Amish in the area of sensing and feeling is consistent with their primary group structure. They manifest trusting rather than alienated relationships. The Amish children scored lowest in vocabulary and language aspects of the standardized tests. This also suggests a strong tie to oral "wisdom" (rather than technical vocabulary) in their tradition. The Amish child is not exposed to as great a range of vocabulary as is the typical American child in public school. This restriction is part of the "good life" as defined by the

Amish charter. There are other reasons for this limited facility aside from any ambiguity of the tests. The moral precepts of the Amish demand economy of words, slowness in mastering content, and prohibitions against showmanship in the use of vocabulary. Moderation as a life principle is learned throughout the school years: "Often there are things that we just cannot understand; do not get excited too quickly, often later you will see why." (Nisley 1966:274.)

The ethnic and socio-economic background of the child is a more important determinant in achievement than differences between schools, races, expenditures on facilities, buildings, curriculum, and teachers, according to Jencks (1969) is his "Reappraisal" of the Coleman report (1966). There is a marked association between achievement levels and the attitudes of children. These findings suggest that public school policy must recognize family background in addition to ethnic and cultural variation. Two things are clear: the child must believe that the school is significant for him and the home must give its support to the school.

MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY AND MONO-CULTURAL SCHOOLS

The Problem of Identity

The United States is a vast country which was settled relatively quickly by a variety of different peoples. They all became United States citizens; though they had come from many countries. We have stressed the homogeneity of our culture—perhaps in the belief that "saying makes it so." There were in fact regional and observable cultural differences, but these differences tended to be overlooked as economically and politically the United States become one integrated nation. In this process of integration democracy and homogeneity became confused; equality and sameness were believed to be identical concepts.

While the country remained rural and small towns were somewhat isolated by muddy or snowblocked roads, the elementary school served only the hamlet and was largely controlled by the local school board. The culture of the town was reflected in the school whether the culture was white Protestant, Irish Catholic, Amish or Spanish-American. Although the academic offering may have been deficient, there was a comfortable relationship between the school and the families whose children attended. In a non-technical society formal education was not as important as it is today and vocational skills could be learned on the job; it was not yet required that they be mastered beforehand. A careful look at the public schools, especially as they were before World War I, will show how much local variation existed. In the middle west, for example, both German and English were often taught in the elementary school. In the California school of our parents' day, Spanish and English were both spoken. In the small villages which were relatively homogeneous culturally and even in the cities where cultural and racial groups lived in discrete clusters culturally divergent schools reflected the local community. However, in the more culturally heterogeneous areas, the political structure was usually such that the local school and the community which it reflected, was generally controlled by the white Protestants. Consolidation of school districts began slowly after World War I and has increased rapidly since World War II. As the administrative unit has become larger, the small, culturally divergent groups have been diluted by the large numbers of white middle-class Protestants and have thereby lost their influence over the style, as well as the policies, of the schools that serve their children. Today, most schools are controlled by middle-class white Protestants and reflect their culture regardless of the cultural composition of the students attending any particular school. At one time America did have a multi-cultural school system in that a variety of cultures were represented within the total school system. Today we have emerging a mono-cultural school system and the cultural minorities are fighting for a say in the education of their children.

Our study shows that the Amish did not establish their own schools until they were threatened by the mono-cultural public school system that in essence would not grant them an identity of their own, and would not permit them to be raised both as Amishmen and Americans. The same thing happened in the case of Catholics. The United States is the only modernized (technologically advanced) country with an extensive denominational school system financed by non-government sources. The Catholics did not establish a parochial system here when they first arrived, for then many of the publically supported schools they attended assumed "a Roman doctrinal coloration." The authors of *The Education of Catholic Americans* point out that Archbishop Hughes began Catholic schools in New York in the 1840's "only after concluding that he could not arrange a satisfactory working agreement with the public school system." (Greeley and Rossi 1966:3.) Similarly the Amish withdrew only where and when they could not arrange a working agreement with the public school system. It was not that they wanted to teach religion in the schools. The blacks and the Mexican-Americans who cannot affort to withdraw from the system strike or demonstrate when they cannot affect the public school system in any other way.

The concept of the public school as the pot in which cultures melt should be re-examined. For those European Protestants who of their own volition chose to emigrate to the United States and who wished to be assimilated into the middle-class American culture, the public schools provided an excellent vehicle, for not only did these schools teach the newly arrived children the language of the new nation but they were "drilled in cultural orientations" (Henry 1963:320). And the cultural orientations were not completely different from those of the culture they had left. More important, the immigrant was motivated to learn the new culture and encouraged by his family to learn it well and learn it fast. The rewards of his learning were obvious —acceptance into the mainstream of the American economy. He wanted a new identity, American, and he had little fear that his new identity would not be recognized by his fellow citizens. (Goodenough 1951:84-102.)

Not all immigrants were European Protestants; there were also Catholics, Jews, Japanese, and Chinese. Members of these groups tended to retain core values of their former culture which they felt were essential to their own self-image while simultaneously they learned the American culture in order to participate in it. Members of these groups sometimes established their own day schools to which they sent their children. More often they sent their children to the public school and also to supplementary schools where they might be indoctrinated in the traditions and values distinct to their own cultural group. These individuals were less willing to completely abandon their former culture and less anxious to embrace fully the American culture (or perhaps, in their eyes, lack of "culture"). Also they were originally less certain of their unqualified acceptance into the dominant culture. They wished to maintain aspects of their former identity and often the response of those around them reinforced the awareness of their different (non-white or non-Protestant) identity. There were also groups such as the Hutterites and the Amish who arrived with a strongly developed cultural identity and a determination that this identity would not be altered. They have succeeded remarkably well by modifying the local public schools which their children attend, by giving their children supplemental schooling and by consciously striving to maintain separateness from

from the surrounding culture. They have consistently rejected assimilation.

Finally there are those Americans who did not, of their own choosing, elect to immigrate to this country; the Indians who were already here and the blacks who were imported as slaves. Neither group was white and each group suffered almost total destruction of its culture. Traces of their culture have persisted to enable them to form a base on which to rebuild. But unlike the Hutterites or the Chinese or the Swedish immigrants, the conservation or rejection of their own culture was not a choice open to the blacks and the Indians. Their cultures were deliberately or unwittingly destroyed by the settler, the industrialist, and the missionary. As the structure and richness of their cultures deteriorated so did their self-image. Those who wished to establish a new identity and become assimilated into the dominant American culture were often rebuffed; their self-image and their public-image did not coincide and they (like other human beings) found the lack of recognition humiliating. Their self-image suffered still more.

Schools are "supposed to provide opportunities for the young to make something of themselves, and further, to serve as gateways into the society of success." (Carl Nordstrom, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Hilary A. Gold, 1968:4.) Education is the process by which people are helped to develop their identities in socially approved ways. (Goodenough 1961:86.) Have the public schools and the American educational system been functioning this way for our cultural minorities? Certainly for the Indian, the black, the Mexican-American and the Puerto Rican children, schools have not served as gateways into the society of success.

When culturally different children attend a school that teaches an unattainable identity, an identity that would demand the rejection of the values of the home, the tribe, or the street, and even the color of their skin, what can be the resultant self-image? When the child is forced to choose between the culture in which he has spent his first five years, the culture of the real life of the home and its environment, and the artificial and to him often meaningless culture of the school, he generally rejects the school and with it all formal education.

If this nation believes in universal education for all its citizenry, then the school must be made sufficiently relevant to all children, those of the minority and those of the majority cultures, so that each child can develop a positive self-image within his culture and at the same time loyalty to the nation. No children should attend a school that treats any of the youngsters "with contempt, neglects their potentialities, violates their dignity, and often breakes their spirit." (Friedenberg, in Raths and Grambs 1965:148.) These infringements can only be reduced if the local schools can become more diversified and more closely related to the real lives of the children who attend them.

There is great concern over the issue of local control of schools. Teachers and often administrators see local control as a threat to their professionalism and to quality education; cultural minorities regard anything other than local control as a threat to their identity. In spite of the confrontation and "mountains" of printed arguments, it would appear that there is really no option either about local influence or local control, for it is hardly possible to run a school well (without) interaction between the school and the community it serves. Unless there is community direction the school cannot adequately teach the children. Similarly in today's complexly organized social system it is unlikely that a school system supported by the government can be one wholly under the control of the local community. Some sort of compromise must evolve. The degree of decision-making granted to the local community and to the larger administrative unit is yet to be worked out.

Our total educational system would profit from a multicultural approach. Many of our present school systems do not permit sufficient diversity among individual students and individual schools. Paradoxically the culture of the United States is becoming more homogeneous, due to such influences as the mass media, radio, television, and advertising. (Educational Policies Commission, in Rath and Gramgs 1965:137-146) while at the same time cultural minorities are insisting on a say in their education. The increasing homogeneity of the larger culture lends by contrast greater visibility to the minority cultures. Minorities are simultaneously threatened with the loss of their own identity and rejected by the dominant homogenizing culture. When there was greater isolation the minority groups could more easily retain their own identifies, in fact there was little chance of losing it.

Unlike the Indian, the black, the Mexican-American or the Puerto Rican, the Old Order Amish have suffered neither a profound cultural jolt nor a weakening of their self-image. Nor have they felt the need to change their identity. Therefore, in these areas there is little carry-over from this particular investigation to the educational problems of these other cultural minorities. However, in assessing the role of education and self identity it is important to remember that the blacks and to a lesser extent the Indians and the Mexican-Americans, are going through a process of community development involving a change of identity. What could better express their desire for a change than their insistence on using a new label to designate their people? The "Negroes" have become "blacks," and the Mexican-Americans are striving to be known as "Chicanos." They are destroying their old identify, though perhaps not as violently as the Manus (Mead 1956) or quite as publicly as King Liholiho of Hawaii. (Kuykendall, 1947:65-70.) Never-the less in Goodenough's terms they are clearing "their social decks" so that they can do something positive about creating a new identity for themselves. (Goodenough 1961: 93.) They do not want to be assimilated into the larger culture but want instead to maintain the distinctive aspects of their own culture while participating in the economy of the dominant culture:

> "We like to keep our identity as Indians. We want education. But we don't like to see our Indians lose their traditions as Indians. We want to be Indians and at the same time we want to be equal to the white population in the rest of the United States. I don't know if you understand that being an Indian, I am proud to be an Indian." (John B. Commins, Chairman of the Crow Tribal Council. *The Indian Historian*, Spring 1968:2.)

The Mexican-Americans are quoted as saying they're tired of being "hyphenated Americans" and no longer want to "imitate the white man" or becomg "Anglocized" to succeed in life. (Been 1969:19.) The blacks have expressed their new sentiments in many ways, from "Black is beautiful" to "we are now questioning the adequacy of present American standards as a means of attaining self-fulfillment." (Statement by black students, quoted by James Turner, 1969:137.) The dominant culture must recognize and respect the symbols of the new identities as well as the practical aspects.

The general society would also profit from greater diversity, as Sizer (1969:42) writes:

> "In a society made increasingly homogeneous by the mass media, education carries a new responsibility for this diversity and for nurturing cultural identities of great variety. . . . [the school] should be the vehicle for individual and group identity within a broad American system, but not a slave to it . . . it must recognize and honor responsible diversity."

Within the dominant culture of the white middle-class are various subgroups, and individuals who object to homogenization within a mono-cultural educational system. Some of them point to Denmark as a country that has succeeded in establishing standards of education required for national life and the protection of the children, yet providing for "the freedom of parents with special religious, ethnic, economic, or pedagogic interests to oversee the direct education of their children with minimal interference by the government." (Fuchs 1969:SR, 44.) They have done this by a system of Free Schools largely (but not altogether) supported by government funds. It is argued that a comparable system, funded solely by the government, would allow for alternative forms of school organization that could meet special minority needs, "whether they be a desire to rear children via Montessori or Summerhill pedagogy or instruction in Swahili, ballet or Amish traditions, without disruption of the work of the larger public school system." (Fuchs 1969:SR, 56.) There are many obvious concerns about implementing such a program of alternative educational systems in the United States, but such a program would break the educational monopoly which in its present form grants freedom of choice in the field of elementary and high school education only to those families rich enough to exercise their choice.

The Danish system of Free Schools would tend to encourage cultural diversity among schools, though not necessarily within a single school. Were such a program to be instituted, in the United States there would undoubtedly remain many schools attended by members of various culture groups. Perhaps the problem of raising children to be members of their distinctive group and simultaneously citizens of the national state, able to participate in the national economy, could be adequately achieved by the careful selection and training of teachers including the utilization of paraprofessionals, and by offering a series of elective courses, open to all, that would help the children to develop a positive self-identity and an understanding of the strengths of their own cultures in addition to those of the dominant culture. Great flexibility and disciplined imagination will be needed on the practical level if these goals are even to be approached.

Contemporary research in education in the United States, including this study of the gentle Amish, would seem to indicate that a rigid mono-cultural educational philosophy is neither viable nor desirable. The real question is: how and to what degree can a multi-cultural approach to education be implemented?

The Amish have been able to stop, at least temporarily, the onslaught of *Techne*. They have scant legal protection and little guarantee other than public sentiment for the maintenance of their schools in which their children are learning the skills and attitudes required of their culture. Were it not for the Amish appeal to religious freedom, their communities would long since have been forced out of their pastoral "poverty" into the economic mainstream where they would either have contributed more to the gross national product or would have added to the welfare rolls already swelled with unhappy individuals drifting between the culture they no longer have and the middle-class American culture they do not fully embrace.

There are many small cultures from the hills of Appalacia to Alaska whose adherants have not been able to translate their beliefs into the claim of religious freedom. In the name of progress and "jobs" these people have been pushed out of their own culture, often into the city. The life style in some of these subcultures may not include a developed sense of economic security, but they do include a firm notion of self-identity. In contrast to marginal youth who are uncertain and fearful, the young person who can retain ties with his own subculture knows who he is, where he comes from, and in what direction he wants to move. Education should not destroy this.

PART FOUR: SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

APPENDIX A. TECHNICAL SUPPLEMENT

Tables (Tests of Significance)

Table A-1. Analysis of Variance for Language IQ (SRA), all Groups

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	4	3355.21	838.30	4.2
Within groups	171	32429.65	189.65	
Total	175	35784.86		

Groups	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Control	27	102.15	9.67	3.53**
Amish in all-Amish public	28	90.32	14.61	
Control	27	102.15	9.67	4.02**
Amish schools	61	90.38	13.75	
Control	27	102.15	9.67	2.70
Amish with non-Amish	26	93.81	12.71	
Control	27	102.15	9.67	1.34
Non-Amish with Amish	34	97.35	16.39	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	90.32	14.61	-0.02
Amish schools	61	90.38	13.75	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	90.32	14.61	-0.93
Amish with non-Amish	26	93.81	12.71	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	90.32	14.61	-1.77
Non-Amish with Amish	34	97.35	19.39	
Amish schools	61	90.38	13.75	-1.09
Amish with non-Amish	26	93.81	12.71	
Amish schools	61	90.38	13.75	-2.21*
Non-Amish with Amish	34	97.35	16.39	
Amish with non-Amish	26	93.81	12.71	-0.91
Non-Amish with Amish	34	97.35	16.39	

*P. < .05

**P. < .01

Table A-2. Analysis of Variance for Reasoning IQ (SRA), All Groups

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	4	2202.07	550.52	2.70
Within groups	171	34898.88	204.09	
Total	175	37100.95		

Groups	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Control	27	108.89	10.25	1.72
Amish in all-Amish public	28	103.14	14.14	
Control	27	108.89	10.25	2.17
Amish schools	61	102.21	14.44	
Control	27	108.89	10.25	1.01
Amish with non-Amish	26	105.27	15.45	
Control	27	108.89	10.25	3.28*
Non-Amish with Amish	34	97.32	15.85	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	103.14	14.14	0.28
Amish schools	61	102.21	14.44	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	103.14	14.14	-0.53
Amish with non-Amish	26	105.27	15.45	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	103.14	14.14	1.51
Non-Amish with Amish	34	97.32	15.85	
Amish schools	61	102.21	14.44	-0.89
Amish with non-Amish	26	105.27	15.45	
Amish schools	61	102.21	14.44	1.53
Non-Amish with Amish	34	97.32	15.85	
Amish with non-Amish	26	105.27	15.45	1.95
Non-Amish with Amish	34	97.32	15.85	

*$p < .05$

Table A-3. Analysis of Variance for Quantitative IQ (SRA), All Groups

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	4	3743.91	935.98	4.32
Within groups	171	37018.98	216.49	
Total	175	40762.89		

Groups	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Control	27	104.85	12.17	-0.26
Amish in all-Amish public	28	105.86	15.78	
Control	27	104.85	12.17	0.63
Amish schools	61	103.00	12.98	
Control	27	104.85	12.17	1.61
Amish with non-Amish	26	98.23	17.46	
Control	27	104.85	12.17	3.18*
Non-Amish with Amish	34	92.88	16.25	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	105.86	15.78	0.90
Amish schools	61	103.00	12.98	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	105.86	15.78	1.69
Amish with non-Amish	26	98.23	17.46	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	105.86	15.78	3.17*
Non-Amish with Amish	34	92.88	16.25	
Amish schools	61	103.00	12.98	1.41
Amish with non-Amish	26	98.23	17.46	
Amish schools	61	103.00	12.98	3.32*
Non-Amish with Amish	34	92.88	16.25	
Amish with non-Amish	26	98.23	17.46	1.22
Non-Amish with Amish	34	92.88	16.25	

*$P < .05$

Table A-4. Analysis of Variance Summary Statistics for Composite IQ (SRA), All Groups

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	4	1804.59	451.15	2.37
Within groups	171	32491.20	190.01	
Total	175	34295.80		

Groups	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Control	27	105.04	8.96	2.45
Amish in all-Amish public	28	97.18	14.18	
Control	27	105.04	8.96	3.20*
Amish schools	61	96.18	13.07	
Control	27	105.04	8.96	2.20
Amish with non-Amish	26	97.50	15.29	
Control	27	105.04	8.96	2.78
Non-Amish with Amish	34	95.26	16.40	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	97.18	14.18	0.33
Amish schools	61	96.18	13.07	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	97.18	14.18	-0.08
Amish with non-Amish	26	97.50	15.29	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	97.18	14.18	0.49
Non-Amish with Amish	34	95.26	16.40	
Amish schools	61	96.18	13.07	-0.41
Amish with non-Amish	26	97.50	15.29	
Amish schools	61	96.18	13.07	0.30
Non-Amish with Amish	34	95.26	16.40	
Amish with non-Amish	26	97.50	15.29	0.54
Non-Amish with Amish	34	95.26	16.40	

*$P < .05$

Table A-5. Analysis of Variance for Language IQ (SRA), Combined Amish and Non-Amish

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	1	2769.87	2769.87	14.60
Within groups	174	33014.99	189.74	
Total	175	35784.86		
	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Amish	115	91.14	13.69	3.82
Non-Amish	61	99.48	13.63	

No statistically significant difference was evident in the language IQ.

Table A-6. Analysis of Variance for Reasoning IQ (SRA), Combined Amish and Non-Amish

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	1	18.86	18.86	0.09
Within groups	174	37082.09	213.12	
Total	175	37100.95		
	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Amish	115	103.13	14.52	0.30
Non-Amish	61	102.44	14.74	

No differences of statistical significance was evident in the reasoning IQ between all Amish and all non-Amish.

Table A-7. Analysis of Variance for Quantitative IQ (SRA), Combined Amish and Non-Amish

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	1	784.70	784.70	3.42
Within groups	174	39978.18	229.76	
Total	175	40762.89		

	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Amish	115	102.62	14.88	1.85
Non-Amish	61	98.18	15.66	

No significant difference between the Amish and non-Amish in the quantitative IQ area, although the Amish excelled in this area.

Table A-8. Analysis of Variance for Composite IQ (SRA), Combined Amish and Non-Amish

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	1	327.95	327.95	1.68
Within groups	174	33967.85	195.22	
Total	175	34295.80		

	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Amish	115	96.72	13.75	1.30
Non-Amish	61	99.59	14.38	1.09

There was no difference large enough in the composite IQ to be statistically significant.

Table A-9. Analysis of Variance for Vocabulary Achievement (Iowa), All Groups

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	4	41.26	10.31	3.60**
Within groups	171	489.93	2.87	
Total	175	531.19		

Groups	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Control	27	-0.70†	1.29	3.00**
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-1.86	1.56	
Control	27	-0.70	1.29	2.25*
Amish schools	61	-1.61	1.90	
Control	27	-0.70	1.29	3.77**
Amish with non-Amish	26	-2.23	1.66	
Control	27	-0.70	1.29	0.99
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.09	1.70	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-1.86	1.56	-0.61
Amish schools	61	-1.61	1.90	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-1.86	1.56	0.86
Amish with non-Amish	26	-2.23	1.66	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-1.86	1.56	-1.83
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.09	1.70	
Amish schools	61	-1.61	1.90	1.46
Amish with non-Amish	26	-2.23	1.66	
Amish schools	61	-1.61	1.90	-1.31
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.09	1.70	
Amish with non-Amish	26	-2.23	1.66	-2.61*
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.09	1.70	

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† Deviation from 0.00 (norm) in years and months. Thus -0.70 is equal to seven months below the norm.

* $P < .05$

** $P < .01$

Table A-10. Analysis of Variance for Reading Comprehension Achievement (Iowa), All Groups

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	4	0.60	0.15	0.05
Within groups	171	504.33	2.95	
Total	175	504.93		

Groups	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Control	27	-1.14	1.11	0.51
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-1.34	1.71	
Control	27	-1.14	1.11	0.16
Amish schools	61	-1.20	1.82	
Control	27	-1.14	1.11	0.16
Amish with non-Amish	26	-1.20	1.69	
Control	27	-1.14	1.11	0.21
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.23	1.93	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-1.34	1.71	-0.34
Amish schools	61	-1.20	1.82	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-1.34	1.71	-0.29
Amish with non-Amish	26	-1.20	1.69	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-1.34	1.71	-0.23
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.23	1.93	
Amish schools	61	-1.20	1.82	-.01
Amish with non-Amish	26	-1.20	1.69	
Amish schools	61	-1.20	1.82	0.07
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.23	1.93	
Amish with non-Amish	26	-1.20	1.69	0.05
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.23	1.93	

Table A-11. Analysis of Variance for Spelling Achievement (Iowa), All Groups

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	4	79.45	19.86	4.69
Within groups	171	723.94	4.23	
Total	175	803.40		

Groups	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Control	27	-0.83	1.68	-1.96
Amish in all-Amish public	28	0.09	1.79	
Control	27	-0.83	1.68	-2.76**
Amish schools	61	0.51	2.25	
Control	27	-0.83	1.68	-2.04*
Amish with non-Amish	26	0.28	2.24	
Control	27	-0.83	1.68	0.68
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.16	2.03	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	0.09	1.79	-0.86
Amish schools	61	0.51	2.25	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	0.09	1.79	-0.34
Amish with non-Amish	26	0.28	2.24	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	0.09	1.79	2.54*
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.16	2.03	
Amish schools	61	0.51	2.25	0.43
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.16	2.03	
Amish with non-Amish	26	0.28	2.24	2.60*
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.16	2.03	

*P < .05

**P < .01

Table A-12. Analysis of Variance for Word Usage Achievement (Iowa), All Groups

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	4	149.35	37.35	9.58
Within groups	171	666.94	3.90	
Total	175	816.33		

Groups	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Control	27	-1.90	1.41	-3.20**
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-0.37	2.07	
Control	27	-1.90	1.41	-6.20**
Amish schools	61	0.64	1.91	
Control	27	-1.90	1.41	-3.08**
Amish with non-Amish	26	-0.37	2.15	
Control	27	-1.90	1.41	-1.38
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.22	2.24	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-0.27	2.07	-2.25*
Amish schools	61	0.64	1.91	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-0.37	2.07	-0.00
Amish with non-Amish	26	-0.37	2.15	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-0.37	2.07	1.54
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.22	2.24	
Amish schools	61	0.64	1.91	2.16*
Amish with non-Amish	26	-0.37	2.15	
Amish schools	61	0.64	1.91	4.27**
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.22	2.24	
Amish with non-Amish	26	-0.37	2.15	1.48
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-1.22	2.24	

*P. <.05

**P. <.01

Table A-13. Analysis of Variance for Knowledge and use of Reference Material Achievement, (Iowa), All Groups

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	4	10.69	2.67	0.95
Within groups	171	481.03	2.81	
Total	175	491.72		

Groups	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Control	27	-0.55	1.25	-0.54
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-0.34	1.62	
Control	27	-0.55	1.25	1.11
Amish schools	61	-1.00	1.90	
Control	27	-0.55	1.25	0.49
Amish with non-Amish	26	-0.74	1.51	
Control	27	-0.55	1.25	1.02
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-0.95	1.70	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-0.34	1.62	1.58
Amish schools	61	-1.00	1.90	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-0.34	1.62	0.93
Amish with non-Amish	26	-0.74	1.51	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	-0.34	1.62	1.44
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-0.95	1.70	
Amish schools	61	-1.00	1.90	-0.61
Amish with non-Amish	26	-0.74	1.51	
Amish schools	61	-1.00	1.90	-0.11
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-0.95	1.70	
Amish with non-Amish	26	-0.74	1.51	0.50
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-0.95	1.70	

$^{*}P < .05$

$^{**}P < .01$

Table A-14. Analysis of Variance for Arithmetic Problem Solving Achievement (Iowa), All Groups

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	4	106.44	26.61	10.85
Within groups	171	419.51	2.45	
Total	175	525.95		

Groups	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Control	27	-0.19	1.45	-2.99**
Amish in all-Amish public	28	1.14	1.81	
Control	27	-0.19	1.45	-3.97**
Amish schools	61	1.06	1.33	
Control	27	-0.19	1.45	-0.47
Amish with non-Amish	26	0.02	1.85	
Control	27	-0.19	1.45	1.61
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-0.83	1.60	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	1.14	1.81	0.21
Amish schools	61	1.06	1.33	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	1.14	1.81	2.24*
Amish with non-Amish	26	0.02	1.85	
Amish in all-Amish public	28	1.14	1.81	4.53**
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-0.83	1.60	
Amish schools	61	1.06	1.33	2.97**
Amish with non-Amish	26	0.02	1.85	
Amish schools	61	1.06	1.33	6.18**
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-0.83	1.60	
Amish with non-Amish	26	0.02	1.85	1.90
Non-Amish with Amish	34	-0.83	1.60	

*P. < .05

**P. < .01

Table A-15. Analysis of Variance for Vocabulary Achievement (Iowa), combined Amish and Non-Amish

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	1	31.68	31.68	11.04**
Within groups	174	499.51	2.87	
Total	175	531.19		
	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Amish	115	1.81	1.77	3.32
Non-Amish	61	-0.92	1.53	

**The difference between the groups in vocabulary achievement was large enough to be significant at the .01 level of confidence in favor of the non-Amish.

Table A-16. Analysis of Variance for Reading Comprehension (Iowa), combined Amish and Non-Amish

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	1	0.08	0.08	0.03
Within groups	174	504.85	2.90	
Total	175	504.93		
	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Amish	115	1.23	1.75	0.17
Non-Amish	61	1.19	1.61	

The reading comprehension difference between the two groups was too small to be significant.

Table A-17. Analysis of Variance for Spelling Achievement (Iowa), Combined Amish and Non-Amish

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	1	74.32	74.32	17.74
Within groups	174	729.08	4.19	
Total	175	803.40		
	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Amish	115	0.36	2.13	4.21[*]
Non-Amish	61	1.01	1.87	

[*] The difference between the means was large enough to be significant at the .05 level in favor of the Amish.

Table A-18. Analysis of Variance Summary Statistics for Word Usage Achievement (Iowa), Combined Amish and Non-Amish

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	1	113.36	113.36	28.06[**]
Within Groups	174	702.97	4.04	
Total	175	816.33		
	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Amish	115	0.16	2.05	5.30
Non-Amish	61	1.52	1.93	

[**] The difference between the mean of the two groups was large enough to be significant at the .01 level of confidence in favor of the Amish.

Table A-19. Analysis of Variance for Knowledge and Use of Reference Material (Iowa), Combined Amish and Non-Amish

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	1	0.00	0.00	0.00
Within groups	174	491.72	2.83	
Total	175	491.72		
	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Amish	115	0.78	1.76	0.01
Non-Amish	61	0.77	1.52	

No significant difference.

Table A-20. Analysis of Variance for Arithmetic Problem Solving Achievement (Iowa), Combined Amish and Non-Amish

Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between groups	1	77.32	77.32	29.99**
Within groups	174	448.64	2.58	
Total	175	525.95		
	N	Mean	Sigma	t-ratio
Amish	115	0.85	1.63	5.48
Non-Amish	61	0.55	1.56	

**The difference in arithmetic problem solving was large enough to be significant at the .01 level of confidence in favor of the Amish.

Table A-21. Correlation matrices for 10 dependent variables by Amish and control group for eighth grade children, Pearson product-moment correlation.[†]

		Control group pupils									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Amish pupils	1. Language IQ[††]		-	-	.75	.79	.39	-	-	.66	-
	2. Reasoning IQ	.60		.58	.74	-	-	-	-	-	.43
	3. Quantitative IQ	.50	.60		.78	-	-	-	-	.46	.52
	4. Composite IQ	.89	.85	.78		.57	-	-	-	.62	.45
	5. Vocabulary	.79	.48	.42	.70		.53	-	.56	.77	-
	6. Reading	.82	.57	.50	.77	.78		.40	.47	.70	.60
	7. Spelling	.58	.45	.46	.60	.59	.54		.50	.55	.39
	8. Word usage	.47	.30	.44	.48	.58	.58	.72		.53	-
	9. Reference	.67	.55	.37	.66	.64	.74	.60	.54		.49
	10. Arithmetic	.29	.41	.55	.46	-	.36	.35	.41	.43	

[†] Figures below diagonal refer to Amish pupils in Private schools and those above refer to the control group (non-Amish children). Where coefficients failed to meet .05 significance criteria they were not included.

[††] The 10 variables shown here and separately for each of the five groups in Tables A-22 to A-26 are:

(SRA IQ tests)
1. Language IQ
2. Reasoning IQ
3. Quantitative IQ
4. Composite IQ

(Iowa Test in Basic Skills)
5. Vocabulary
6. Reading
7. Spelling
8. Word usage
9. Knowledge and use of reference material
10. Arithmetic problem solving

Table A-22. Intercorrelations for control group

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
1 - 2	27.	102.148	9.674	108.889	10.248	1.368	0.264
1 - 3	27.	102.148	9.674	104.852	12.168	1.603	0.305
1 - 4	27.	102.148	9.674	105.037	8.964	5.638***	0.748**
1 - 5	27.	102.148	9.674	-0.700	1.289	6.403***	0.788
1 - 6	25.	101.280	9.511	-1.232	1.103	2.033*	0.390
1 - 7	27.	102.148	9.674	-0.826	1.680	0.533	0.106
1 - 8	27.	102.148	9.674	-1.904	1.413	1.489	0.285
1 - 9	24.	101.485	9.749	-0.621	1.313	4.153***	0.663
1 - 10	27.	102.148	9.674	-0.193	1.454	0.579	0.115
2 - 3	27.	108.889	10.248	104.852	12.168	3.182**	0.537
2 - 4	27.	108.889	10.248	105.037	8.964	5.499***	0.740
2 - 5	27.	108.889	10.248	-0.700	1.289	0.487	0.097
2 - 6	25.	108.480	10.520	-1.232	1.103	0.342	0.071

*P. < .05
**P. < .01
***P. < .001

Table A-22. Continued

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
2 - 7	27.	108.889	10.248	-0.826	1.680	-0.088	-0.018
2 - 8	27.	108.889	10.248	-1.904	1.413	-0.796	-0.157
2 - 9	24.	108.917	10.379	-0.621	1.313	1.160	0.240
2 - 10	27.	108.889	10.248	-0.193	1.454	2.411*	0.434
3 - 4	27.	104.852	12.168	105.037	8.964	6.300***	0.783
3 - 5	27.	104.852	12.168	-0.700	1.289	1.310	0.253
3 - 6	25.	103.640	11.694	-1.232	1.103	1.847	0.359
3 - 7	27.	104.852	12.168	-0.826	1.680	1.758	0.332
3 - 8	27.	104.852	12.168	-1.904	1.413	0.551	0.110
3 - 9	24.	104.375	12.714	-0.621	1.313	2.416*	0.458
3 - 10	27.	104.852	12.168	-0.193	1.454	3.011**	0.516
4 - 5	27.	105.037	8.964	-0.700	1.289	3.422**	0.565
4 - 6	25.	104.120	8.643	-1.232	1.103	2.061	0.395
4 - 7	27.	105.037	8.964	-0.826	1.680	0.972	0.191
4 - 8	27.	105.037	8.964	-1.904	1.413	0.781	0.154
4 - 9	24.	104.542	9.320	-0.621	1.313	3.696**	0.619

Table A-22. Continued

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
4 - 10	27.	105.037	8.964	-0.193	1.454	2.516*	0.450
5 - 6	25.	-0.824	1.258	-1.232	1.103	3.018**	0.533
5 - 7	27.	-0.700	1.289	-0.826	1.680	2.046	0.379
5 - 8	27.	-0.700	1.289	-1.904	1.413	3.363**	0.558
5 - 9	24.	-0.800	1.320	-0.621	1.313	5.590***	0.766
5 - 10	27.	-0.700	1.289	-0.193	1.454	1.967	0.366
6 - 7	25.	-1.232	1.103	-0.912	1.714	2.093*	0.400
6 - 8	25.	-1.232	1.103	-1.928	1.457	2.558*	0.471
6 - 9	22.	-1.423	1.030	-0.777	1.248	4.408***	0.702
6 - 10	25.	-1.232	1.103	-0.324	1.430	3.624**	0.603
7 - 8	27.	-0.826	1.680	-1.904	1.413	2.945**	0.507
7 - 9	24.	-0.917	1.738	-0.621	1.313	3.106**	0.552
7 - 10	27.	-0.826	1.680	-0.193	1.454	2.094*	0.386
8 - 9	24.	-2.705	1.341	-0.621	1.313	2.936**	0.531
8 - 10	27.	-1.904	1.413	-0.193	1.454	1.789	0.337
9 - 10	24.	-0.621	1.313	-0.279	1.509	2.645*	0.491

Table A-23. Intercorrelations for Amish in all-Amish public school

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
1 - 2	28.	90.321	14.606	103.143	14.139	3.514**	0.567
1 - 3	28.	90.321	14.606	105.857	15.780	3.313**	0.545
1 - 4	28.	90.321	14.606	97.179	14.179	9.420***	0.879
1 - 5	27.	89.741	14.551	-1.926	1.542	5.916***	0.764
1 - 6	27.	90.037	14.805	-1.389	1.724	7.687***	0.838
1 - 7	28.	90.321	14.606	0.093	1.792	4.762***	0.683
1 - 8	27.	90.926	14.523	-0.385	2.106	5.512***	0.741
1 - 9	28.	90.321	14.606	-0.339	1.623	5.186***	0.713
1 - 10	26.	90.692	14.759	1.223	1.855	3.146**	0.540
2 - 3	28.	103.143	14.139	105.857	15.780	4.361***	0.650
2 - 4	28.	103.143	14.139	97.179	14.179	7.730***	0.835
2 - 5	27.	102.778	14.273	-1.926	1.542	2.460*	0.441
2 - 6	27.	103.037	14.379	-1.389	1.724	4.766***	0.690
2 - 7	28.	103.143	14.139	0.093	1.792	1.483	0.279
2 - 8	27.	104.259	13.090	-0.385	2.106	2.832**	0.493
2 - 9	28.	103.143	14.139	-0.339	1.623	5.041***	0.703

Table A-23. Continued

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
2 - 10	26.	104.692	13.151	1.223	1.855	4.430***	0.671
3 - 4	28.	105.857	15.780	97.179	14.179	7.461***	0.826
3 - 5	27.	105.296	15.794	-1.926	1.542	1.859	0.349
3 - 6	27.	105.111	15.570	-1.389	1.724	3.414**	0.564
3 - 7	28.	105.857	15.780	0.093	1.792	2.696*	0.467
3 - 8	27.	106.519	15.680	-0.385	2.106	1.959	0.365
3 - 9	28.	105.857	15.780	-0.339	1.623	4.596***	0.670
3 - 10	26.	107.077	15.715	1.223	1.855	5.471***	0.745
4 - 5	27.	96.593	14.099	-1.926	1.542	4.339***	0.655
4 - 6	27.	96.778	14.286	-1.389	1.724	7.980***	0.847
4 - 7	28.	97.179	14.179	0.093	1.792	3.708***	0.588
4 - 8	27.	98.037	13.687	-0.385	2.106	4.589***	0.676
4 - 9	28.	97.179	14.179	-0.339	1.623	7.170***	0.815
4 - 10	26.	98.192	13.934	1.223	1.855	5.495***	0.746
5 - 6	26.	-1.935	1.572	-1.488	1.677	4.462***	0.673
5 - 7	27.	-1.926	1.542	-0.026	1.710	4.536***	0.672

Table A-23. Continued

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
5 - 8	26.	-1.935	1.572	-0.473	2.097	3.189**	0.546
5 - 9	27.	-1.926	1.542	-0.448	1.546	3.882***	0.613
5 - 10	25.	-1.972	1.593	1.120	1.815	2.272*	0.428
6 - 7	27.	-1.389	1.724	0.067	1.820	3.993***	0.624
6 - 8	26.	-1.346	1.743	-0.431	2.134	7.431***	0.835
6 - 9	27.	-1.389	1.724	-0.363	1.649	6.300***	0.783
6 - 10	25.	-1.320	1.774	1.148	1.852	5.174***	0.733
7 - 8	27.	0.052	1.812	-0.385	2.106	3.637**	0.588
7 - 9	28.	0.093	1.792	-0.339	1.623	4.563***	0.667
7 - 10	26.	0.065	1.847	1.223	1.855	2.811**	0.498
8 - 9	27.	-0.385	2.106	-0.300	1.640	-4.366***	0.658
8 - 10	26.	-0.385	2.148	1.223	1.855	2.635*	0.474
9 - 10	26.	-0.208	1.599	1.223	1.855	4.037***	0.645

Table A-24. Intercorrelations for Amish in private schools

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
1 - 2	61.	90.377	13.748	102.213	14.440	5.744***	0.599
1 - 2	61.	90.377	13.748	103.000	12.981	4.546***	0.509
1 - 4	61.	90.377	13.748	96.180	13.072	14.685***	0.886
1 - 5	58.	89.500	13.198	-1.690	1.914	9.599***	0.789
1 - 6	57.	89.860	13.707	-1.284	1.857	10.594***	0.819
1 - 7	57.	90.158	14.156	0.544	2.323	5.331***	0.584
1 - 8	59.	90.542	13.950	0.658	1.937	4.063***	0.474
1 - 9	61.	90.377	13.748	-0.995	1.903	6.987***	0.673
1 - 10	61.	90.377	13.748	1.064	1.329	2.299*	0.287
2 - 3	61.	102.213	14.440	103.000	12.981	5.694***	0.595
2 - 4	61.	102.213	14.440	96.180	13.072	12.459***	0.851
2 - 5	58.	102.069	14.400	-1.690	1.914	4.048***	0.476
2 - 6	57.	101.614	14.132	-1.284	1.857	5.120***	0.568
2 - 7	57.	102.140	14.452	0.544	2.323	3.762***	0.452
2 - 8	59.	102.119	14.677	0.658	1.937	2.455*	0.309
2 - 9	61.	102.213	14.440	-0.995	1.903	4.995***	0.545

Table A-24. Continued

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
2 - 10	61.	102.213	14.440	1.064	1.329	3.486***	0.413
3 - 4	61.	103.000	12.981	96.180	13.072	9.479***	0.777
3 - 5	58.	102.724	13.022	-1.690	1.914	3.451**	0.419
3 - 6	57.	102.632	13.119	-1.284	1.857	4.303***	0.502
3 - 7	57.	102.509	13.110	0.544	2.323	3.843***	0.460
3 - 8	59.	102.780	13.129	0.658	1.937	3.665***	0.437
3 - 9	61.	103.000	12.981	-0.995	1.903	3.020**	0.366
3 - 10	61.	103.000	12.981	1.064	1.329	5.003***	0.546
4 - 5	58.	95.603	12.761	-1.690	1.914	7.297***	0.698
4 - 6	57.	95.614	13.089	-1.284	1.857	9.007***	0.772
4 - 7	57.	95.895	13.423	0.544	2.323	5.491***	0.595
4 - 8	59.	96.153	13.295	0.658	1.937	4.180***	0.484
4 - 9	61.	96.180	13.072	-0.995	1.903	6.700***	0.657
4 - 10	61.	96.180	13.072	1.064	1.329	3.960***	0.458
5 - 6	56.	-1.721	1.938	-1.320	1.854	9.108***	0.778
5 - 7	54.	-1.709	1.960	0.437	2.335	5.330***	0.594

6

Table A-24. Continued

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
5 - 8	56.	-1.670	1.931	0.623	1.960	5.206***	0.578
5 - 9	58.	-1.690	1.914	-1.067	1.899	6.203***	0.638
5 - 10	58.	-1.690	1.914	1.062	1.349	1.871	0.243
6 - 7	53.	-1.349	1.905	0.391	2.334	4.631***	0.544
6 - 8	55.	-1.300	1.888	0.591	1.963	5.204***	0.582
6 - 9	57.	-1.284	1.857	-1.135	1.861	8.232***	0.743
6 - 10	57.	-1.284	1.857	0.984	1.304	2.857**	0.359
7 - 8	55.	0.502	2.353	0.629	1.991	7.554***	0.720
7 - 9	57.	0.544	2.323	-1.000	1.956	5.526***	0.598
7 - 10	57.	0.544	2.323	1.026	1.326	4.651***	0.531
8 - 9	59.	0.658	1.937	-0.997	1.919	4.826***	0.539
8 - 10	59.	0.658	1.937	1.054	1.341	3.359**	0.407
9 - 10	61.	-0.995	1.903	1.064	1.329	3.671***	0.431

Table A-25. Intercorrelations for Amish in public schools with non-Amish

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
1 - 2	26.	93.808	12.706	105.269	15.447	4.749***	0.696
1 - 3	26.	93.808	12.706	98.231	17.459	6.203***	0.785
1 - 4	26.	93.808	12.706	97.500	15.292	10.669***	0.909
1 - 5	26.	93.808	12.706	-2.235	1.655	3.097**	0.534
1 - 6	24.	93.333	13.124	-1.304	1.722	5.049***	0.733
1 - 7	26.	93.808	12.706	0.281	2.236	3.719**	0.605
1 - 8	25.	94.320	12.691	-0.384	2.195	3.330**	0.570
1 - 9	23.	92.304	11.483	-0.835	1.583	4.019***	0.659
1 - 10	25.	94.440	12.544	0.020	1.884	2.315*	0.435
2 - 3	26.	105.269	15.447	98.231	17.459	7.598***	0.840
2 - 4	26.	105.269	15.447	97.500	15.292	10.498***	0.906
2 - 5	26.	105.269	15.447	-2.235	1.655	2.690*	0.481
2 - 6	24.	104.958	15.890	-1.304	1.722	3.980***	0.647
2 - 7	26.	105.269	15.447	0.281	2.236	3.448**	0.576
2 - 8	25.	106.240	14.934	-0.284	2.195	4.258***	0.664
2 - 9	23.	104.478	15.863	-0.835	1.583	4.564***	0.706

Table A-25. Continued

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORRE. COEFF. R(I,J)
2 - 10	25	105.440	15.740	0.020	1.884	2.288*	0.431
3 - 4	26.	98.231	17.459	97.500	15.292	14.484***	0.947
3 - 5	26.	98.231	17.459	-2.235	1.655	1.988	0.376
3 - 6	24.	97.500	17.373	-1.304	1.722	4.112***	0.659
3 - 7	26.	98.231	17.459	0.281	2.236	4.350***	0.664
3 - 8	25.	98.760	17.605	-0.384	2.195	4.208***	0.659
3 - 9	23.	97.174	17.880	-0.835	1.583	5.782***	0.784
3 - 10	25.	98.840	17.535	0.020	1.884	2.885**	0.515
4 - 5	26.	97.500	15.292	-2.235	1.655	2.894**	0.509
4 - 6	24.	96.917	15.598	-1.304	1.722	5.158***	0.740
4 - 7	26.	97.500	15.292	0.281	2.236	4.524***	0.678
4 - 8	25.	98.200	15.177	-0.384	2.195	4.491***	0.684
4 - 9	23.	96.217	15.178	-0.835	1.583	5.609***	0.774
4 - 10	25.	98.080	15.313	0.020	1.884	2.727*	0.494
5 - 6	24.	-2.250	1.721	-1.304	1.722	4.59 ***	0.700
5 - 7	26.	-2.235	1.655	0.281	2.236	3.674	0.600

Table A-25. Continued

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
5 - 8	25.	-2.116	1.572	-0.384	2.195	2.799**	0.504
5 - 10	25.	-2.200	1.680	0.020	1.884	1.259	0.254
6 - 7	24.	-1.304	1.722	0.225	2.308	3.821***	0.632
6 - 8	23.	-1.187	1.660	-0.348	2.224	4.579***	0.707
6 - 9	21.	-1.505	1.518	-0.886	1.646	3.024**	0.570
6 - 10	23.	-1.261	1.747	-0.057	1.949	3.050**	0.554
7 - 8	25.	0.260	2.279	-0.384	2.195	5.061***	0.726
7 - 9	23.	0.191	2.286	-0.835	1.583	4.254***	0.680
7 - 10	25.	0.328	2.268	0.020	1.884	1.967	0.380
8 - 9	22.	-0.618	2.176	-0.827	1.620	5.363***	0.768
8 - 10	24.	-0.492	2.174	0.013	1.925	2.888**	0.524
9 - 10	22.	-0.850	1.618	-0.127	1.806	2.011	0.410

Table A-26: Intercorrelations for non-Amish in school with Amish

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
1 - 2	34.	97.353	16.385	97.324	15.855	5.327***	0.686
1 - 3	34.	97.353	16.385	92.882	16.251	5.389***	0.690
1 - 4	34.	97.353	16.385	95.265	16.399	13.921***	0.926
1 - 5	34.	97.353	16.385	-1.091	1.704	6.074***	0.732
1 - 6	33.	97.030	16.529	-1.267	1.946	6.112***	0.739
1 - 7	34.	97.353	16.385	-1.156	2.027	4.504***	0.623
1 - 8	33.	97.212	16.618	-1.258	2.262	3.392**	0.520
1 - 9	33.	97.152	16.597	-0.979	1.715	5.813***	0.722
1 - 10	34.	97.353	16.385	-0.829	1.602	3.863***	0.564
2 - 3	34.	97.324	15.855	92.882	16.251	5.370***	0.689
2 - 4	34.	97.324	15.855	95.265	16.399	9.989***	0.870
2 - 5	34.	97.324	15.855	-1.091	1.704	3.344**	0.509
2 - 6	33.	96.879	15.884	-1.267	1.946	4.826***	0.655
2 - 7	34.	97.324	15.855	-1.156	2.027	3.514**	0.528
2 - 8	33.	97.121	16.056	-1.258	2.262	1.456	0.253
2 - 9	33.	97.424	16.090	-0.979	1.715	4.362***	0.617

Table A-26. Continued

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE.COEFF. R(I,J)
2 - 10	34.	97.324	15.855	-0.829	1.602	4.585***	0.630
3 - 4	34.	92.882	16.251	95.265	16.399	9.507***	0.859
3 - 5	34.	92.882	16.251	-1.091	1.704	3.883***	0.566
3 - 6	33.	92.485	16.335	-1.267	1.946	5.295***	0.689
3 - 7	34.	92.882	16.251	-1.156	2.027	4.262***	0.602
3 - 8	33.	92.485	16.335	-1.258	2.262	0.743	0.132
3 - 9	33.	92.545	16.382	-0.979	1.715	4.712***	0.646
3 - 10	34.	92.882	16.251	-0.829	1.602	4.711***	0.640
4 - 5	34.	95.265	16.399	-1.091	1.704	5.635***	0.706
4 - 6	33.	94.818	16.442	-1.267	1.946	6.918***	0.779
4 - 7	34.	95.265	16.399	-1.156	2.027	4.871***	0.652
4 - 8	33.	95.000	16.579	-1.258	2.262	2.361*	0.390
4 - 9	33.	95.121	16.632	-0.979	1.715	6.167***	0.742
4 - 10	34.	95.265	16.399	-0.829	1.602	5.197***	0.677
5 - 6	33.	-1.142	1.703	-1.267	1.946	5.931***	0.729
5 - 7	34.	-1.091	1.704	-1.156	2.027	3.149**	0.486

Table A-26. Continued

VAR. PAIR	ADJ. N	MEAN X	S. D. X	MEAN Y	S. D. Y	T-TEST T	CORPE. COEFF. R(I,J)
5 - 8	33.	-1.109	1.727	-1.258	2.262	1.839	0.314
5 - 9	33.	-0.109	1.727	-0.979	1.715	3.108**	0.487
5 - 10	34.	-1.091	1.704	-0.829	1.602	2.132*	0.353
6 - 7	33.	-1.267	1.946	-1.227	2.015	6.092***	0.738
6 - 8	32.	--1.300	1.967	-1.372	2.199	1.336	0.237
6 - 9	32.	-1.322	1.950	-1.025	1.721	5.516***	0.710
6 - 10	33.	-1.267	1.946	-0.927	1.520	3.488**	0.531
7 - 8	33.	-1.155	2.059	-1.258	2.262	2.324*	0.385
7 - 9	33.	-1.236	2.003	-0.979	1.715	4.539***	0.632
7 - 10	34.	-1.156	2.027	-0.829	1.602	3.186**	0.491
8 - 9	32.	-1.316	2.273	-1.025	1.721	2.655*	0.436
8 - 10	33.	-1.258	2.262	-0.879	1.600	2.006	0.339
9 - 10	33.	-0.979	1.715	-0.752	1.560	5.353***	0.693

Instructions for Giving the Goodenough-Harris Drawing Test, 1964 Form

The Drawing Test is given on two days as follows:

First Day of Drawing Test

Tell the children that they are being asked to make some drawings for a teacher who is collecting many drawings from children in many places all over the world. Tell them that their work will be collected and mailed to him, so they will want to show him the best they can do.

Each child should be provided with a pencil and a test booklet. Crayons should *not* be used. The number two or two-and-one half pencil is preferred. See that pictures and books are put aside, to reduce the likelihood of copying.

Have the children fill in the information requested on the cover sheet of the test booklet. With children of elementary school age it is best to ask them as a group to complete the items one at a time, the examiner pacing the task, as follows:

"Where it says Name, *print* your name. Print your first name, and then your last name."

"Now draw a circle around one of the words 'Boy' or 'Girl,' to show whether you are a boy or a girl."

"Now print the name of this school." (Where the school does not have an official designation, have the children enter the teacher's name.)

"Where it says 'Date of Drawing' put today's date. This is ________________." (Full date)

"Where it says 'Grade,' put your grade in school." (In groups, say "This is the _________ grade.")

"Where it says 'Age,' write how old you are *now*." (Get the age in years.)

(The following three paragraphs call for information which may be omitted in social groups where the information is unavailable or inappropriate.)

"Now listen carefully: *When* were you born? Where it says 'Birth Date,' first write the month when your birthday comes, and then the date of the month. Is it November 14th, or January 2nd? Write whatever *date* it is."

"Then put the *year* you were born. Do you know that? If you do, put it down. If not, just leave it blank." (Note: Birth dates should *always* be checked with official records. Age should be taken to the nearest month.)

"Now, where it says 'Father's Occupation,' write down what he does for a living. Tell what he does, not just where he works. For example: 'He owns and runs a farm.' 'He's a foreman in the body shop of the Smith Motor Company,' or 'He runs machines at the Williams Pattern Works.' Write down exactly the kind of work he does for a living."

When the children have finished supplying the face sheet data, have them fold back the cover sheet so that the space for the first drawing, and *only* the first drawing, is exposed. Now say:

"I am going to ask you to make three pictures for me today. We will make them one at a time. On this first page I want you to make a picture of a man. (If translating into another language than English, be sure to use the generic term for the *male sex*.) Make the very best picture that you can; take your time and work very carefully. I want to see whether the boys and girls in ____________ School can do as well as those in other schools. Try very hard, and see what good pictures you can make. Be sure to make the whole man, not just the head and shoulders."

When the drawings have been completed, say a few words of praise and have the children turn over the sheets to the space for the second drawing. Then say:

"This time I want you to make a picture of a *woman*. Make the very best picture that you can; take your time and work very carefully. Be sure to make the whole woman, not just the head and shoulders." (Note: With very young children it may be appropriate to say ". . . picture of a woman, a mommy.")

When this drawing has been completed, praise a bit more lavishly than before as a means of keeping up interest. Then demonstrate how to refold the sheets so that the two completed drawings are inside and the space for the third drawing is now face up. Now say:

"This picture is to be someone you know very well, so it should be the best of all. I want *each of you to make a picture of yourself—your whole self—not just your face.* Perhaps you don't know it but many of the greatest artists like to make their own portraits, and these are often among their best and most famous pictures. So take care and make this last one the very best of the three."

Children under age eight or nine should have a short rest period between drawings two and three. Ask children to put down their pencils, stretch their arms and flex their fingers, to relax from the tension imposed by concentration and effort.

While the children are drawing, stroll about the room and encourage those who are slow or who seem to have difficulty by saying:

"These drawings are very fine; you boys and girls are doing very well."

Do not make adverse comments or criticisms, and do not give suggestions. If any child wishes to write about his picture, he may do so at the bottom of the sheet.

If children ask for further instructions such as whether the man is to be doing anything particular like working or running, say:

"Do it whatever way you think is best." Avoid answering "Yes" or "No" or giving any further specific instructions to the children.

The importance of avoiding every kind of suggestion cannot be overemphasized. The examiner must refrain from remakrs that might influence the nature of the drawing. He must also see to it that no suggestions come from the children. They should not hold up their drawings for admiration or comment. Young children sometimes accompany their work with a running commentary, such as: "I am giving my man a soldier hand," or "Mine is a big, big man." A firm but good-natured,

"No one must tell about his picture now. Wait until everybody has finished,"

will usually dispose of such cases without affecting the general interest or suppressing the child's enthusiasm for his work.

There is no time limit for the test, but young children rarely take more than ten to fifteen minutes for all three drawings. If one or two children are slower than the rest, it is best to collect papers from those who have finished and allow them to go on with their regular work while the slower workers are finishing.

In older groups, above the fifth or sixth grade, it may be necessary to offer strong encouragement to some children, who will say they can't do the task. In these groups, it may also be desirable to say:

"You are to make three drawings, one on each of the three pages of this folder. The instructions are at the top of each page. When you have finished one drawing go right on to the next, until you have finished all three."

In this case, it is well to walk about the room speaking to individuals who seem reluctant to attempt the task.

The following special circumstances should be noted:
(1) A child may spoil his drawing and wish to start again. In such case he should be given a fresh test booklet and be allowed to try again on that drawing. Save the other drawings. All such instances should be noted on the margin of the booklet after the child has finished his work.
(2) Above the second or third grade (rarely below), a child may draw a bust picture only. When it is evident that this has been the intention, a fresh test booklet should be given, and the child told to, "Make a whole man." Both drawings should be preserved for comparison.

Second Day of Drawing Test

Distribute to each child a pencil and three sheets of drawing paper. Have him write or print his name, sex, and age on one of these.

Say, "Turn the page over to make today's drawing, so that your name will be on the *back* of the drawing." (See that children comply.)

Then say, "Yesterday you made *three* drawings of people. Today you will make three more drawings of things you know well."

(1) "First, you are to draw your *house*--the house in which you live." (*If children are in a residential school,*

make clear to them they are to draw the family home in which they lived until they came to school.)

"You may write something about your house at the bottom of the page, if you wish."

Give the children sufficient time so that most can finish drawing to their own satisfaction. Ten minutes should be ample, unless the group is unusually careful and meticulous.

Then say, "Turn this picture face down, and take another sheet of paper."

Again have children write or print their name, sex, and age, and turn the sheet over to make the drawing on the unwritten side.

(2) Say, "This time you must make a choice. I will tell you two things you may draw, but you are to draw only *one* of them. You decide which one you will draw. You may draw an *animal* or a *machine*, any kind you wish."

(If translating "animal" into another language than English, be sure to use the generic word meaning a mammal rather than bird or reptile. Be careful not to specify a *class* of animals, such as "cow." If the language does not contain this broad term use the most general term possible for the class "animals such as are commonly found associated with man."

When translating the word "machine" into a language other than English, be sure to use a generic term for a broad class of mechanical devices. If such a term is lacking, use as general a term as possible for self-propelled vehicle, without saying specifically "train," or "truck."

In both cases, be sure to enclose a note with the drawings giving the actual term used.)

Be sure to say "When you have drawn it, tell something about what you have drawn by writing at the bottom of the page."

Again allow about ten minutes.

As children complete the drawing, remind them again to write about it at the bottom of the page.

(3) Then say: "Now make the *third* drawing. Take the last piece of paper; write your name on it, and turn it over." (See that children comply.)

"Now draw 'My Happy Time,' what you do that you most enjoy. When you have made your drawing, write 'My Happy Time' at the bottom of the page, and write something about it."

Then collect the drawings. Place each child's three drawings with his test booklet from the previous day's work. Put the drawings into the prepared envelopes for mailing. Ask absentees to complete the part of the drawing they missed, whether the first or the second day's work. Even though not all children have completed all drawings, mail the drawings within a few days or a week.

Thank the children.

And thank you!

Instructions for Essay on Choice of Occupation

Essay Topic

This is a writing assignment on the occupational hopes of youngsters. It may be given as an assignment in writing class. Ask the children to write answers to the following question:

WHAT KIND OF WORK I WANT TO DO WHEN I GROW UP, AND WHY

A short answer is satisfactory. Make sure both parts are answered: what and why. Give to all children who can write.

On the reverse side have each pupil write the following:

Name of school:

Age:

Grade:

Father's occupation (what he works at):

Today's date:

Project Staff

Alexander, Allen: clerical
Buchanan, Barbara: clerical work
Buchanan, Frederick S.: collaborator
Buchanan, James: clerical work
Cross, Harold: consultant
Downey, Ronald G.: advisor in statistical analysis
Farwell, James: clerical work
Gallagher, Helene: clerical
Gardner, Diane: clerical work
Harder, Mary: clerical work
Harris, Dale B.: consultant in psychology
Hetson, Cara: typist, clerical work
Hostetler, Ann: clerical work
Hostetler, Beulah: editorial work
Hostetler, John A.: project director
Huntington, Gertrude Enders: anthropologist, field worker
Iodice, Carmela: typist
Landing, James E.: field worker
McCarthy, Nancy: clerical
Metzler, Ronnie: clerical
Miller, Wayne: school testing and score analysis
Peter, Karl: consultant, translation work
Purches, Janice: clerical
Redekop, Calvin W.: consultant, school test analysis
Reist, Ilse: translation work
Shaw, Pat: clerical work
Stoll, Joseph: consultant, historical research
Stoll, Elmo: historical research
Sullivan, Mary: clerical work
Swartz, Alan M.: clerical
Teichman, Alicia: clerical work
Tomsheck, Miriam: clerical work
Tongberg, Sue: clerical work
Vento, Carol: clerical
Wenger, John C.: reader, historical sections
Williams, Ken: school test analysis
Williams, Thomasina: typist
Yoder, Amos J.: consultant and fieldwork

APPENDIX B. SOURCE DOCUMENTS ON SOCIALIZATION

The European Period

1. MENNO SIMONS, WRITTEN 1535-1550

(*The Complete Writings of Menno Simons*, Scottdale, Pa. 1956. Tr. by L. Verduin and Edited by J.C. Wenger.)

From *True Christian Faith*, pp. 386-391

If now I seek the praises of the Lord with all my heart, and if I love the salvation of my neighbors, many of whom I have never seen, how much more should I have at heart the salvation of my dear children whom God has given me; who are out of my loins, and are my natural flesh and blood; so that the mighty Lord may be praised by them and be eternally honored in them.

Yes, I am sure, and what I write I write from a certain testimony of my own conscience before Almighty God before whom I stand. All properly believing parents are thus minded toward their children, that they would a hundred times rather see them jailed in a deep, dark dungeon for the sake of the Lord and His testimony than sitting with the deceiving priests in their idol church or with drunken dolts in taverns, or in company of scorners who despise the name of the Lord and hate His holy Word.

A hundred times rather would they see them, for the sake of the truth of the Lord, bound hands and feet and dragged before lords and princes, than to see them marry rich persons who fear not God, neither walk in the ways of the Lord, and so be feted in dances, song, and play, with pomp and splendor, with pipe and drum, with lutes and cymbals. A hundred times rather would they see them scourged from head to foot for the sake of the glory and holy name of the Lord than to see them adorn themselves with silks, velvets, gold, silver, costly trimmed and tailored clothes, and the like vanity and pomp. Yes, a hundred times rather would they see them exiled, burning at the stake, drowning or attached to a wheel, for righteousness' sake, than to see them live apart from God in all luxury and carnal pleasures, or be emperors and kings and therefore sent to condemnation.

Woe to all who are not so minded concerning their children. For if I so love their flesh that I overlook their sins, if I do not punish the transgressions of the young with a rod and the older with the tongue, if I do not teach them the ways of the Lord, if I do not set them an unblamable example, if I do not direct them at all times to Christ and His Word, ordinances, commands, and example, and if I do not seek their salvation with all my heart and soul, then I will not escape my punishment. For in the day of the Lord their souls and blood, damnation and death, will be laid at my door as a blind and silent watchman.

Christian temperament teaches plainly that all Christian parents should be as sharp, pungent salt, a shining light, and an unblamable, faithful teacher, each in his own home. The high priest Eli was held responsible because he had not reproved his children enough.

From *The Nurture of Children*, pp. 950-2

The world desired for its children that which is earthly and perishable, money, honor, fame, and wealth. From the cradle they rear them to wickedness, pride, and idolatry. But let it be otherwise with you, who are born of God, for it behooves you to seek something else for your children, namely, that which is heavenly and eternal so that you may bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, as Paul teaches.

Moses commanded Israel to teach their children the law and commandments of the Lord, to talk of them when they sat down in their houses and when they walked by the way, when they lay down and when they rose up. Now since we are the chosen generation, the royal priesthood, the holy nation, the peculiar people, that we should show forth the praises of Him who hath called us out of darkness into His marvelous light, therefore we ought to be patterns and examples in all righteousness and blamelessness, and to manifest this to the whole world as we are called to this. For if we do not keep a strict watch over our own children, but let them follow their evil and corrupt nature; if we do not correct and chastise them according to the Word of the Lord, then we may verily lay our hands upon our mouths and keep still. For why should we teach those not of our household, seeing we do not take care of our own family in the love and fear of God? Paul says, if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.

Dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ Jesus, take heed that you do not spoil your children through natural love, that you do not offend, do not rear them in wickedness, lest in the day of judgment their soul be required at your hands, and it happen unto you, on account of your children, as it did unto Eli, the high priest, who was punished by the hand of the Almighty, on account of his sons. But imitate carefully the witness declared by the angel of the Lord concerning pious Abraham. I know him, says He, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment. For this is the chief and principal care of the saints, that their children may fear God, do right, and be saved. Even as the God-fearing Tobias admonished his grandchildren, saying, My son, hearken unto thy father; serve the Lord in truth, and follow him in uprightness, be diligent to do that which is well-pleasing to him and what he has commanded, teach this to thy children that they give alms, fear God all their days, and trust in him with their whole hearts.

My beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, you who sincerely love the Word of the Lord, instruct your children thus, from youth up, and daily admonish them with the Word of the Lord, setting a good example. Teach and admonish them, I say, to the extent of their understanding. Constrain and punish them with discretion and moderation, without anger or bitterness, lest they be discouraged. Do not spare the rod if necessity requires it, and reflect on what is written: He that loveth his son causeth him oft to feel the rod that he may have joy of him in the end. But he that is too lenient with his child, takes his side, and is frightened whenever he hears a cry. A child unrestrained becomes headstrong as an untamed horse. Give him no liberty in his youth, and wink not at his follies. Bow down his neck while he is young, lest he wax stubborn and be disobedient to thee. Correct thy son, and keep him from idleness, lest thou be made ashamed on his account.

Dearly beloved brethren and sisters in the Lord, if all parents who boast the name of the Lord would heed the words of Sirach, and would inscribe them on the tablets of their souls, oh, how virtuous, pious, and devout would many children be reared, who now, alas! run around wild and unrestrained, bring no honor to their parents, nor to the church and the Gospel of Christ. An evil-nurtured son, says Sirach, is the dishonor of his father. Again says he, though they multiply, rejoice not in them, except the fear of God be with them; for one that is just, is better than a thousand; and better it is to die without children, than to have them that are ungodly.

My dear brethren, ponder these words well and digest them. Necessity compels me to write; for some, alas! carry on so with their children that one is constrained to write and reprove. I write and admonish you once more: Take head, lest the blood and condemnation of your children be upon you. If you love your children with a godly love, then teach them, instruct them in God, lest the Word, blood, and death of the Lord remain in vain in their case, and the Lord's name and church be blasphemed by the foolish because of them.

Beloved brethren in Christ, if you rightly know God and His Word, and believe that the end of the righteous is everlasting life, and the end of the wicked eternal death, then study to the utmost of your power, to lead your children on the way of life and to keep them from the way of death, as much as in you is. Pray to Almighty God for the gift of His grace, that in His great mercy He may lead and keep them in the straight path, and keep them there, leading them by His Holy Spirit. Watch over their salvation as over your own souls. Teach them, and instruct them, admonish them, threaten, correct, and chastise them, as circumstances require. Keep them away from good-for-nothing children, from whom they hear and learn nothing but lying, cursing, swearing, fighting, and mischief. Direct them to reading and writing. Teach them to spin and other handicrafts suitable, useful, and proper to their years and persons. If you do this, you shall live to see much honor and joy in your children. But if you do not do it, heaviness of heart shall consume you at the last. For a child left to himself, without reproof, is not only the shame of his father, but he disgraces his mother also.

This brief little admonition I have written to my beloved, out of hearty love, and that not without reason. For in the course of my ministry, I have, which is too bad, observed more than enough of disorderly, improperly, yes, heathenish, many parents carry on with their children. The bad love of the flesh is so very great with some, and they are so blinded by the natural affection for their children that they can neither see nor perceive any evil, error, or defect in them at all, notwithstanding they are frequently full of mischievous tricks and wickedness, are disobedient to father and mother, lie right and left, quarrel and fight with other people's children, and mock people as they pass by, crying after them and calling them names.

Brethren in Christ, to ignore, by reason of blind, carnal love, and to excuse these and similar disgraceful tricks of children is a love not to be applauded, but much rather to be shunned and avoided; for it is earthly, sensual, devilish. Since we are the salt of the earth, the light of the world, the holy nation, the chosen generation, yes, the bride of Christ, it by no means becomes us, to have, or to bear such carnal love or foolish regard toward our children. But it is our duty, as far as in us is, diligently to instruct, govern, and rule our children and household as well as ourselves, in conformity with the honor and virtue that is pleasing to God, and in keeping with the Word of God.

With this I want to clear my soul before the Lord and His church. And I desire for the Lord's sake that this epistle may not be resented. Let the elders read it aloud to all the brethren so that the innocent may avoid these things and those that are guilty of them, of these faults and failings, may reform, without thinking that I want to run their affairs. Ah, no! Before God, I desire nothing in this, but that in all things, you may conform yourselves to the Scriptures and to Christian decency, and that all things in the Lord's church may be conducted according to the divine will and good pleasure. He that searches hearts and reins knows that I lie not. Therefore, receive it in love, for in faithfulness have I written.

With this, beloved brethren and sisters, I commend you to God and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified.

The very God of peace sanctify you wholly, that your whole spirit, soul, and body be preserved without spot, and blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He who called you. May the merciful Father, through His beloved Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, strengthen you all with the precious gift of His Holy Spirit. Amen.

From *Christian Baptism*, pp. 280-81

But little children and particularly those of Christian parentage have a peculiar promise which was given them of God without any ceremony, but out of pure and generous grace, through Christ Jesus our Lord, who says, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven. Matt. 19:14; Mark 10:14; Luke 18:16. This promise makes glad and assures all the chosen saints of God in regard to their children or infants. By it they are assured that the true word of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ could never fail. Inasmuch as He had shown such great mercy toward the children that were brought to Him that He took them up in His blessed arms, blessed them, laid His hands upon them, promised them the kingdom of heaven and has done no more with them; therefore such parents have in their hearts a sure and firm faith in the grace of God concerning their beloved children, namely, that they are children of the kingdom of grace, and of the promise of eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom alone be the glory, and not by any ceremony. Yes, by such promise they were assured that their dear children, as long as they are mere children, are clean, holy, saved, and pleasing unto God, be they alive or dead. Therefore they give thanks to the eternal Father through Jesus Christ our Lord for His inexpressibly great love to their dear children, and they train them in the love of God and in wisdom by correcting, chastising, teaching, and admonishing them, and by the example of an irreproachable life, until these children are able to hear the Word of God, to believe it, and to fulfill it in their works. Then is the time and not until then, of whatever age they may be, that they should receive Christian baptism, which Christ Jesus has commanded in obedience to His Word to all Christians, and which His apostles have practiced and taught.

From *Foundation of Christian Doctrine*, p. 135

And although infants have neither faith nor baptism, think not that they are therefore damned. Oh, no! they are saved; for they have the Lord's own promise of the kingdom of God; not through any elements, ceremonies, and external rites, but solely by grace through Christ Jesus. And therefore we do truly believe that they are in a state of grace, pleasing to God, pure, holy, heirs of God and of eternal life. Yes, on account of this promise all sincere Christian believers may assuredly rejoice and comfort themselves in the salvation of their children.

From *Christian Baptism*, p. 241

Little ones must wait according to God's Word until they can understand the Holy Gospel of grace and sincerely confess it; and then, and then only is it time, no matter how young or how old, for them to receive Christian baptism as the infallible Word of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ has taught and commanded all true believers in His holy Gospel. If they die before coming to years of discretion, that is, in childhood, before they have come to years of understanding and before they have faith, then they die under the promise of God, and that by no other means than the generous promise of grace given through Christ Jesus. Luke 18:16. And if they come to years of discretion and have faith, then they should be baptized.

From *Christian Baptism*, p. 242

I acknowledge and also solemnly confess before you and the whole world that they [Martin Luther and other renowned doctors] are well gifted with learning, eloquence, subtlety, languages, and science, and that I, poor, ignorant man, in comparison with them, am less than a fly is to an elephant. Therefore I am heartily ashamed to write and speak against them with my dull pen and awkward speech. Yet every reader should know that however learned the beforementioned scholars are, and however ignorant I am, yet our opinions are all worth about equally much before God, for without the command of the holy Scripture nothing righteous can be done and nothing pleasing to God can be practiced, let him be whosoever he may. The holy Scriptures do not refer us to them nor to any other learned person, but to Christ Jesus alone. Matt. 17:46. Whenever such highly renowned men by their subtle acuteness and clever philosophy try to take from us and pervert the plain ordinances of Christ Jesus and His apostles, we must consider their doctrine in that respect the doctrine of men and false.

2. DIRK PHILIPS (1504-1568)

(*Enchiridion or Handbook* 1564; Tr. by A.B. Kolb, 1910.)

From *Christian Baptism*, pp. 25-26

But as sin had its origin in disobedience, and began with the knowledge of good and evil in Adam and Eve, even so it is also the case with children; for, although they all descend from a sinful Adam, nevertheless for Christ's sake original sin (as it is called) is not imputed against them unto damnation, but they are in one respect like Adam and

Eve were before the fall, namely that they are innocent and blameless, understanding neither good nor evil. But as soon as they attain to the knowledge of good and evil and step out of innocent ignorance into known evil, and by their own disobedience and transgression of the divine work and command, sin against the Lord, then is the proper and appointed time that they be first taught (Matt. 28:19), yea, be heartily admonished from God's law to repent (Rom. 3:19, 20), that they may amend their ways, bewail and confess their sins before God and have sorrow because of them (Acts 2:37, 38); afterward they must be comforted again with the gospel (Mark 16:15; Eph. 2:7).

From *Christian Baptism*, p. 37

But we have no command or example in all the Scripture to pray that children shall be baptized on the faith of the church or the fathers; but we do have in the Scripture another example of how we are to pray for children, namely, that the believing parents brought their children to Christ, desiring that their children might be blessed by his laying his hands on them. (Matt. 19:13-15). Thus also we must consecrate our children unto Christ in prayer with firm faith and confidence that in him they have already, as in the promised seed, obtained the blessing of eternal life.

From *Christian Baptism*, pp. 42-45

Some one might now think or ask: If infants do not believe, why then are they saved and acceptable to God? We answer: By grace, through Jesus Christ (Rom. 5:2), who through his death took away the sin of the whole world, so that adults by their penitent faith, and infants in their innocence are acceptable to God (John 1:29; 3:16; I John 3:16), so long as they continue therein. Of this the Lord himself declares: "Your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, and your children, which in that day had no knowledge between good and evil, they shall go in thither, and unto them I will give it, and they shall possess it." (Deut. 1:39.) You see that what the adult Israelites, because of their unbelief and disobedience, could not obtain, their children, who had no knowledge of good or evil, obtained by the grace of God. Thus also the children of the true Israel, that is, of Christian believers, obtain and inherit the true promised land (Heb. 4:9)—that is, the kingdom of heaven—by grace through Jesus Christ that the promise of God, regarding the seed of Abraham, the children of the heavenly Sarah (who are included under the promise, Gal. 3:29) may be established by the grace and election of God through the merits of Jesus Christ, and not by the works or merits of men.

...That the kingdom of heaven belongs to the children we believe without a doubt, as we have already declared. But that the salvation of children lies in their baptism and is dependent upon it we do not believe and cannot concede, for Christ accepted the children, and through grace and mercy promised them the kingdom of heaven, and not on account of or by baptism; for he neither baptized them nor commanded them to be baptized, but laid his hands upon them and blessed them.

Christ also makes it sufficiently plain to us why children are acceptable to God, inasmuch as he sets forth the children as an example, and moreover admonishes us that we should become like them; for he speaks thus to his disciples: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye be converted and become as a little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven." (Matt. 3:4; 19:14).

Since therefore Christ sets the children before us as an example and says that we should become like children, and humble ourselves, it follows without contradiction: First, that children (so long as they are in their simplicity) are innocent and reckoned by God as being without sin. Second, that there is also something good in children (although they have become partakers of the transgression and sinful nature of Adam), namely, the simple and unassuming and humble nature, in which they are pleasing to God (yet purely by grace through Jesus Christ) so long as they remain therein; for which reason also Christ sets children before us as an example that we should in these respects become like them.

But many presumptuous people dispute about the salvation of children, and by such disputation make themselves fools in the sight of God, no matter how wise and intelligent they may be considered by the world; for they dispute and babble much about the salvation of infants, but what concerns themselves and is most necessary, namely, to learn of the children simplicity and humility as Christ admonishes us—of this they think little.

...Hence we conclude with the apostles and the entire holy Scripture, that original sin has been paid and taken away by Jesus Christ, and that therefore children are not to be judged and damned on account of Adam's transgression. That the child's nature has a tendency toward evil does not damn them (Gen. 6:5; 8:21); yea, by the grace of God it is not accounted as sin unto them, but so long as they are simple and without the knowledge of good and evil, they are pleasing and acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. But why should many words be necessary? It is true and indubitable that children as well as adults—the children by their simplicity, the adults by their faith—are saved by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. (Acts 15:11.)

From *Regeneration and the New Creature*, p. 301

Children without understanding have not this faith, as every one that has been taught of God well knows, seeing that the Scripture gives such clear testimony and daily experience gives such clear evidence that infants have no faith (Deut. 1:39; John 4:11); nevertheless they are saved by grace through Jesus Christ and are acceptable to God in their childishness and simple, innocent state (Matt. 18:1; 1 Cor. 14:20) just the same as adults are by their faith pleasing to God; therefore both Christ and Paul set forth the children as an example and prototype, not that we shall be children in understanding, but in malice, and men in understanding, ever remembering the simplicity and humility of children, that we may conduct ourselves accordingly.

3. AUSBUND (HYMNAL)

(*Ausbund*. First Edition 1564. Selections taken from edition of 1880. Tr. by I. Reist.)

Das 18. Lied, Vers 1 - Ein ander Marter-Lied von einem Weib, sammt ihrem Sohne welche zu Rotterdam ihren Abschied gethan.	Song No. 18. Another martyr song of a woman and her son who said farewell at Rotterdam (*Martyrs' Mirror*, p. 453)
(See *Martyrs' Mirror*, p. 453)	Verse 1
Ein' grosze Freud ist ingemein, Wo man die liebe Kinder Klein Erzeugt aus Gott dem Herren	It is a great joy if one teaches little children,-a gift of the

Und unterweis't in Gottes Lehr
Aug gute Sitten, Zucht und Ehr,
Dasz sie die Eltern ehren.

Lord,-about God's commandments, good manners, discipline, honor and respect of parents.

Das 23. Lied, Ein ander Marter-Lied, von Einem, Thomas Druker genannt, zu Cölln am Rhein bezeugt, Anno 1557.

Song No. 23. Song of a martyr named Thomas Drucker, Colgne, Anno 1557.

Vers 9

Ich vermahn euch, liebe Hausfrau,
Und thu euch hart beschwören,
Erziehet eure Kinder nau,
Ermahnt sie zu dem Herren,
Dem bösen Willen widersteht,
Vor Bosheit thut sie wehren,
Denn der sie euch geschaffen hat,
Der wird sie wohl ernähren.

Verse 9

I entreat you dear housewives, raise your children in the fear of the Lord. Resist the evil temper, keep them from malice. The one who gave them to you will also take care of their needs.

Das 44. Lied, von Georg Simons, im Niederland gerichtet, Anno 1557.

Song No. 44. By Georg Simons, executed in the Netherlands in 1557.

Vers 1

Merkt auf, ihr Völker alle,
Was ich euch sagen will,
Gott geb, dasz euch gefalle
Vor alle Saitenspiel.
Wollt ihr hinter euch lassen
Ein Schatz, der Gott gefallt,
Euren Kindern dermaszen,
Geschicht es solcher Gestalt.

Verse 1

Harken all you people, to what I have to tell you if you want to leave behind you a treasure for your children that is pleasing to God, then observe the following:

Vers 2

Wollt ihnen scharf vorhalten
Gott's Wort und sein Gesetz,
Darnach Gott lassen walten,
Das ist ein guter Schatz,
So ihr selbst darnach lebet,
Wie euch's Wort unterweis't,
Ein gut Exempel gebet,
Darin'n wird Gott gepreis't.

Verse 2

Then teach your children clearly God's word and commandments. Then let God work. This is a fine treasure. If you live according to what you teach the children, you then give a good example through which God is praised.

Vers 3	Verse 3
Georg Simons stehnd in Nöhten Sein'm Sohn geschrieben hat, Da man ihn wollte tödten, Zu Harlem in der Stadt, Da er dann lag gefangen Von wegan der Wahrheit, Hat er euch mit verlangen Dies Testament bereit.	Georg Simons is presently in need. He has written to his son, that they want to kill him (Georg) in Harlem. There he is a prisoner for truth's sake. This is when he longed to prepare the following testimony to his son.
Vers 4	Verse 4
Vor seinem End gestellet An seinen Sohn mit Fleisz, Das Gut ihm auserwählet, Lebt und starb Gott sum Preis. Er sprach: Mein Sohn, thu neigen Dein Ohr zu meiner Lehr, Gehorsam dich erzeige, Vom Bösen dich abkehr.	Seeing his end coming he diligently writes to his son; choosing what is good he lived and he died for the glory of God. He said: My son, listen to me, be obedient, turn from evil.
Vers 5	Verse 5
Hab Gott allzeit vor Augen Im ganzen Leben dein, Thu nach der Welt nicht fragen, Wo du recht weis' willst sein. Thut dir Gott offenbaren Sein Wort und Willen schon, Wollst es nicht länger sparen, Und dem in Eil nachgohn.	Have God before you always, do not search for the world. Real wisdom comes when God reveals his word and will to you. And then you must not lose time but hasten to follow Him.
Vers 6	Verse 6
Dein' Wohnung sollst du haben Bei den Frommen allein, Und mit den stolzen Knaben Gar nichts haben gemein. Ob dir die Bösen riefen, Dasz du sollst mit ihn'n gahn, Thu dich mit nicht vertiefen, Gang nicht auf dieser Bahn.	Live, only where the believers live. Have nothing in common with other proud boys. Even if the wicked ones invite you to go with them, do not get involved with them.
Vers 11	Verse 11
Hast du übrige Weile, Zu lernen dich bereit,	If you have time, then study reading so that

Das Lesen recht mit Eile, Dasz du einen Unterscheid Findest in heilger G'schrifte, Was Menschenlehr nur sei, Und Gott selbst hab gestifte, Auch was sein Befehl sei.	you can learn how to discern from the Scripture what God teaches and what is merely man's teaching.
Vers 12	Verse 12
Und sein göttlicher Wille An uns zu aller Zeit, Den lerne in der Stille Mit rechter Emsigkeit. ...	With diligence and in quietness you shall study what His will for us is for all times.
Das 102. Lied	Song No. 102.
Vers 25	Verse 25
Der Widerchrist zu aller Frist Will all Ding besser machen, Was Gott rein gut erschaffen thut. Er greift auch zu den Sachen ...	The Antichrist always pretends to do everything better. He attacks that which God has created in goodness and purity ...
Vers 26	Verse 26
Ein junges Kind ohn alle Sünd, Das jetzt erst ist geboren, Welchs Gott rein gut erschaffen thut, Spricht er: Es ist verloren. Er nimmt es bald unter sein G'walt Und sagt: ich will austreiben Teufel und Sünd von diesem Kind, Er selbt thut kein' Sund meiden.	He says that a young child—just newborn without sin, created by God in purity—that such a child is lost. The Antichrist says: "I shall drive sin and satan out of this child," even though he himself is guilty of every sin.
Vers 27	Verse 27
Er sagt vom Kind, es habe Sünd Von Adam her thun erben, So doch die Schrift desz uns bericht, Dasz Christus mit sein'm Sterben Hab weiderbracht, was Adam hat Zerbrochen und zerstören.	The Antichrist maintains that a child has inherited his sinful nature from Adam. But the Scriptures teach us that through his death Jesus has restored what was

Dem Widerchrist das nicht gnug ist, All Ding er Gott verkehret.	broken by Adam. The Antichrist is not satisfied with this, he turns everything against God.

4. THOMAS VON IMBROICH 1558

(From *Confession of Faith*, original edition 1558. German ed. in Ausbund 1880, 17-24; and English tr. in *Martyrs' Mirror*, 1951, 367-371.

Now since there are many who believe that children that die without baptism are damned, as also the priests maintain, we will, by the grace of God, give a brief answer to our opponents, so that my lords may be relieved on this point.

In the first place, our apponents say, it is written: "Suffer little children to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 19:14). Now, if they have the promise, why should they not also receive baptism, which is less than the promise?

Answer—We believe and confess that infants are saved on account of the promise; but that salvation depends on baptism, we do not confess; for when Christ promised the children the kingdom of God, they were not baptized, nor did He baptize them, but He embraced them, and spoke kindly to, or blessed, them. Mark. 9:36,37. Christ also states the reason why the children are acceptable to God, since He sets them as examples for adults, and admonishes us, that we should be like them, for thus He says to His disciples: "Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven." Matt. 18:3-4.

Hence, since we are admonished to become as children, it is incontrovertible, that as long as they remain in a state of innocence, God holds them guiltless, and no sin is imputed to them; and although they are of a sinful nature, partaking of the nature of Adam, there still remains something in them which is pleasing to God, namely, innocence and humility; however, they are saved only through the grace of Christ.

But if some condemn infants, if they die without baptism, it is a despising of the blood of Christ; for the sin of Adam and of the whole world, is reconciled through the sacrifice of Christ, and no sin from Adam is imputed to children; how then can children be damned?

Who will accuse the children, for whom Christ shed His blood? Who will condemn them, to whom Christ has promised the kingdom of God? Who will deny the holy Scriptures, which declare so emphatically, that the sin of Adam and of the whole world has been taken away; the handwriting of the law, which was against us, blotted out, and nailed to the cross, and that grace has abounded over sin, and the life of Christ conquered death?

Hence, he who says that children are condemned, or accuses them on account of original sin, denies the death and blood of Christ. For, if the children are condemned because of Adam's death, then Christ died in vain, Adam's guilt is still upon us, and not reconciled through Christ, and grace has not abounded over sin through Christ. God forbid.

For the grace of God has richly appeared to all men. Tit. 2:11; Rom. 5:18. All malediction, curse, and the sin of the whole world have been taken away through Christ, and as adults are saved through faith, so children are saved through their innocence; but all through grace.

5. THE MARTYRS' MIRROR

(By Thieleman J. van Braght (1625-1664) Original ed. Dordrecht, The Netherlands, 1660. Selections from 1951 ed. Mennonite Publishing House.)

From Confession of Faith, According to the Holy Word of God, consisting of Thirty-three Articles, circa 1600. (Pp. 373-410, 1951 edition.)

From Article 8, p. 379

As to how the kingdom of heaven is promised by Christ to infants, without respect to persons, read: "Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and pray: and the disciples rebuked them. But Jesus said, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Matt. 19:13;14; 18:3; Mark 10:13; Luke 18:15.

From Article 13, p. 385

And though children are conceived in sin, or born from sinful seed, yet they have never known, served, or practiced sin, from which they might be regenerated, converted, and renewed in their mind and heart; but they have without this been born, and placed by God in so holy and God-pleasing a state, through the atonement of Christ, that no adult person can, through regeneration and the putting off of the sinful body of the flesh, and the renewing of the mind, become more sinless, holy and God-pleasing; seeing the innate sinfulness, lust or inclination to sin remains in the most pious, regenerated, adult persons until death (not less than in children, in their infancy), against which they carry on a constant warfare; and besides this, Almighty God, by His Word, requires of all men that have served sin, no higher or greater reparation than that they be converted by regeneration, and become like unto children in sin and malice. With what reason, then, can regeneration be applied to children, who have never committed sin, from which they could be regenerated; seeing infancy has already the innocence which is acceptable to God, and has been set as an example before men, after which all the regenerated must labor and strive until death.

From Article 20, p. 395, *Martyrs' Mirror*

(Anabaptists not dependent on a university-trained ministry)

And since it is a known fact that a lack of faithful ministers, and the erring of the sheep because of the lack of good doctrine, arise principally from the unworthiness of the people; therefore the people of God, needing this, should not turn to such as have been educated in universities, according to the wisdom of man, that they may talk and dispute, and seek to sell their purchases gift for temporal gain; and who according to the custom of the world do not truly follow Christ in the humility of regeneration. But the true members of Christ, must, according to the counsel of God, with humble fasting and praying, turn to the Father of the harvest, who is the true Sender, that by His divine wisdom He will raise up men, whom He may set as faithful and wise stewards over His household, that they may give them proper meat in due season, and may enkindle them in their hearts with His Spirit, and urge them into His harvest, that they may feed the flock of Christ, not for the milk and wool, but of a ready mind, with knowledge and understanding, and lead them on the right way to the kingdom of God; and thus execute the ministry imposed upon them by God, with the strength which God gives.

From Article 21, of the Thirty-Three Articles, p. 397, *Martyrs' Mirror*.

But all Christians are commanded and in duty bound to walk before their children with a good example, and to bring them up in the fear of the Lord, by good teachings and instructions, without using on them baptism, the Supper, or any other ceremonies; since it is known that it is impossible for any one to unite another to the Lord, without His will and knowledge....

And as no bath to wash off the filth of the body can be used on an unborn child, but the child must first be born; so Christian baptism, which is compared to the washing of new born infants, can, according to the will of God, be given to none but those who are regenerated by faith, dead to sin, desire the same, rise from the death of sin, and walk in newness of life, observing whatsoever Christ has commanded them.

Testimony of John Claes in the year 1544, while in prison at Amsterdam. (Pp. 469-471, *Martyr's Mirror*.)

To his wife:

Bring up my dear children in the admonition of the Lord, this is my will to you; and associate with the good, for they prosper. Care not for temporal things; for that which is visible must perish. What you can get take with you, and commit the rest to faithful friends; and remove with your little ones far enough to be out of danger, from men. Bring them up in the admonition of the Lord, and keep with those that fear the Lord. ...

My dear wife, I request you to bring up my children, in all good instruction, to have my testament read to them, and to bring them up in the Lord, according to your ability, as long as you remain with them. And I desire of you, that you love neither yourself nor your children more than the Lord and His testimony.

To his children:

My dear little children, Claes Jans and Gertrude Jans, I leave you this as a testament when you come of age. Hear the instruction from your Father. Hate all that the world and your carnal nature love, and love the commandments of God. 1 John 2:16. ... Believe not what men say, but obey the commands of the New Testament, and ask God to teach you

His will. Trust not to your understanding, but trust in the Lord, and let all your counsel be in Him, and ask Him to direct your paths.

My children, how you are to love God the Lord, how you must honor and love your mother, and love your neighbor, and fulfill all other commandments required of you by the Lord, the New Testament will teach you. Matt. 22:37, 39. Whatever is not contained therein, believe not; but obey everything that is embraced in it. Associate with those who fear the Lord, who depart from evil, and who do every good thing through love. Oh, look not to the multitude or the old custom, but to the little flock which is persecuted for the word of the Lord; for the good do not persecute, but are persecuted. When you have given yourselves to this, beware of all false doctrine; for John says: "Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ he hath both the Father and the Son." 2 John 9. The doctrine of Christ is: Love, mercy, peace, chastity, faith, meekness, humility and perfect obedience to God. Gal. 5:22,23.

My dear children, surrender yourselves to that which is good, and the Lord will give you understanding in all things. I give you this as my last farewell. Regard the chastening of the Lord; for if you do evil, He will punish you in your souls. Job 5:17. Hence desist, and cry to the Lord for help, and hate that which is evil, and the Lord shall deliver you, and you shall prosper. May God the Father, through His beloved Son Jesus Christ, give you His Holy Spirit that He may guide you into all truth. Amen. John 16:13.

I, John Cleas, your father, have written this while in prison for the word of the Lord. May the good Father grant you His grace. Amen.

Concerning the sentence passed against John Claes:

The lords of the court then forbade John Claes to speak. They then proceeded with their sentence, and said to the clerk: "Read his crime." He read that he had caused to be printed at Antwerp six hundred books, which he had concluded with Menno Simons, and scattered abroad in this country, containing strange opinions and sectarianism, *and had kept school and held meetings*, to introduce errors among the people....

Joriaen Simons, Clement Dirks, and Mary Joris were imprisoned at Haarlem in 1557, and while there composed a hymn to make known the cause of their imprisonment. This hymn set forth the principal points of their faith, among which was the following (p. 564, *Martyrs' Mirror*).

> 2. Because they were baptized upon their faith, according to the ordinance of Christ, and, on the contrary, confessed that infant baptism was not of God, but contrary to His Word; and that it is well known, from Christ's own words, that infants are fully in the grace of God, and in a saved condition without baptism or any other ceremony having to be administered to them, they therefore hold, that all that is done by such means, as being necessary for the salvation of infants is nothing but vain human presumption.

A testament left by Joriaen Simons to his son Simon, when he was imprisoned at Haarlem, where he was afterwards put to death on the 26 of April, 1557. (Pp. 564-66, *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

May God through His great mercy grant to my son Simon, to grow up virtuously, and if the Lord permit him to reach the years of understanding, to confess Him, and having learned His will, to order his life in accordance with it, in order to obtain eternal salvation, through His beloved Son Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Ghost. Amen.

My child and dear son, incline your ears to the admonition of your father....

...First of all, my dear child, I would affectionately warn, admonish and entreat you, to beware of and shun all wickedness, and to walk from infancy in the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom; and if God reveal His wisdom to you, hesitate not to walk in it, since death pursues the young as well as the old. Improve the time given you by God for repentence. Have your intercourse with the good, and beware of the perverse. If sinners entice you, consent not, and have no fellowship with them; refrain your foot from their path, for their steps take hold on hell. Hence, touch not pitch, lest you be defiled; for an evil end draws nigh to the wicked, which will bear the burden everywhere. Of this and every evil, my dear son, beware, and remember that Paul says, that we must all appear before the judment seat of Christ that everyone may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad (2 Cor. 5:10), but the flesh will advise you to nothing good. Hence Paul may well say: "To be carnally minded is death, yea, they that are in the flesh, cannot please

God." Rom. 8:6, 8. Therefore, mortify your carnal members here on earth. Read Paul, or have him read to you; he will tell you, which are the works of the flesh. Gal. 5:19. *If you have time and opportunity, use diligence to learn to read and write, that you may learn and know the better, what the Lord requires of you.*

Seek not high temporal things; though they that obtain them, are called and commended as happy by the common people; they are nevertheless unhappy and rejected before God. Hence humble yourself under the mighty hand of God, that you may be exalted in eternity. 1 Pet. 5:5.

My dear son and beloved child, this is my chief and last will, my testament to you, which I desire you to read diligently, to meditate well upon it, and to compare it to the Scriptures, in order to govern your steps in accordance with it. Mark well, my son, what I write: many will appear in the garb of good teachers, saying that they have medicine for your sick soul; but the ones that will profit you, are those who have the truth; adhere to them. Water and fire are set before you: stretch forth your hand unto whether you will, unto death or life. Sirach 15:16. This, my dear son, will at first be very hard for you to hear, since it is contrary to your first birth, which is of the flesh; but you must be born again, and converted, if you would enter into the kingdom of God. You cannot understand this so long as you are carnally-minded, yea, so long as you do not become the fool and enemy of the world. Dearly beloved son, I entreat you again, as I did before, to consider this, and to govern yourself in accordance with it. Out of a faithful father's heart I have left you this, when about to depart from this world, and to die for the Word of the Lord. May the Lord grant you, and all who read this, or hear it read, that they may take it to heart, act according to it, and be eternally saved.

A letter by Thomas von Imbroeck written from prison to his wife and brethren, in 1558. (P. 578, *Martyrs' Mirror.*)

To his wife:

Hence be of good courage, and bring up your children in good manners, and in the fear of God, that their natural propensities may be mortified; and take an example from yourself, how you bring them up in their weakness, with great labor and trouble, and give the breast to them to whom the Lord has commanded milk to be given.

You are also to give them the rod, according to the command of the Lord, when they transgress and are obstinate; for this is also food for the soul, and drives out the folly which is bound up in their hearts. Prov. 23:13, 14. Remember the words of Sirach, where he says (7:26): "Shew not thyself cheerful to thy daughter, nor laugh with her, lest she become bold against thee, and thou have to bear shame on her account in the end. But teach her the law of our God, that she may put her hope in the Almighty and Most High, and may never forget the benefits bestowed upon us through Christ."

I also pray you, that they, as far as possible, be kept away from intractable children; do not allow them to run about in the streets, but keep them with you as much as possible, that you may have joy and sorrow with them;

First and Second Letters of Joris Wippe of Dortrecht to his wife while he was in prison. (Pp. 585-86, *Martyrs' Mirror.*)

...let your modesty and obedience, and your love to God, be an example and pattern to all our dear obedient children, whom the holy Lord has given us, to the praise and glory of His Father. And use diligence in teaching and admonishing them; and chastise them, lest the Lord requires them at your hands. Do your very best, so that I may see you all again at the resurrection of the just. Luke 14:14....

Third Letter of Joris Wippe to his children, 1558. (P. 587, *Martyrs' Mirror.*)

...And I admonish you with Tobias, that you will fear God all the days of your life, never consent to sin, nor transgress God's commandments; and that you will eat your bread with the hungry, and give alms of that which the Lord gives you. In short, I give you the same testament which Tobias gave his son; you are able to read. I pray that you will often read it. And all that our holy fathers commanded their children, I also leave unto you; may you diligently observe it. And I now bless you all my obedient, most dearly beloved children, with that God with whom Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and all God's chosen friends, blessed their children. Further, I admonish you Joos, as my eldest son, that you and Hansken, my second son, will be the protectors of your poor mother, in the fear of God, all the days of your life. And I also charge you, Barbergen, my dear daughter, to be obedient to your mother, and to help care for all your little sisters, and for Pierken. *Learn also to read*, and be diligent in every good work, that you may spend your life in holiness and in all the fear of God, like Sarah, the wife of young Tobias (Tobit 3:15), and associate not with the wanton and frivolous daughters of this world, whose end will be destruction; but be sober, honorable and just in all your dealings, so that you may be prudent, being adorned with every virtue, and that when Christ our Bridegroom comes you may be ready with the five wise virgins, to enter with the Bridegroom into the kingdom of His Father. And now I charge you, Joos and Hansken, that together with Barbertgen, your obedient sister, you will care for your three little sisters, and for Pierken, *and teach them to read and to work*, so that they may grow up in all righteousness, to the honor of God and the salvation of their souls. Be diligent to work with your hands that which is honorable, remembering the words of the apostle: "It is more blessed to give than to receive," so that you may not be burdensome to any through idleness. Eph. 4:28; Acts 20:35. Remain with your mother as long as it please the Lord, and in all things show yourselves a pattern of good works. Tit. 2:7....

...I admonish you all, my dear children, that you will do this; and comfort your mother, and often, when you have time, read to her a chapter or two. And spend the time which God gives you, in all sobriety and righteousness, with prayer and supplication to God, that He would keep you from the evil. *Have no fellowship with the children of this world*, that you may not become partakers of their evil deeds; always walk with wise men, and you shall become wise, namely, strong and very bold, so that you may eschew evil....

Another letter of the above-mentioned Claesken, (Pp. 615-16, *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

As regards infant baptism he (the State church pastor, or steward) knew nothing to say, except Christ says: "You may be born again of water and of the Spirit," John 3:5. I said, "Children cannot understand the new birth; Christ said this to the adult; hence we have put off our old life, and put on a new life. We well know that our children are saved before the Lord."

He then cited David, how he was born in sin. Ps. 51:7. Our brother then explained it to him clearly, yet he remained as ignorant as ever. When we had ended our conversation, I ask him what my husband said. He replied: "Your husband also persists in his views." I said: "What will you do with my poor husband, who cannot read a word?" He replied: "Your damnation will be greater than that of your husband; because you can read, and have seduced him."

Confession written by Hans de Vette at Ghent in the year 1559, relating of his interrogation by the Dean of Ronse. (P. 621, *Martyrs' Mirror.*)

I replied that I considered infant baptism worthless, since it was not commanded of God. He said that circumcision was a figure of it, and that all the children that were not circumcised in the Old Testament, or are not baptized in the New Testament, must be damned. I then said, in accordance with his own words: "Then the female children in the Old Testament must all be damned." He became angry, and said that what I advanced was only sophistry. I told him that he should be ashamed to say that children were damned, to whom as the Lord says, the kingdom of heaven belongs. He said that I lied in this...

Letter of Lenaert Plovier to his wife, in the year 1560. (P. 642, *Martyrs' Mirror.*)

Some of the hardest things for my flesh to bear are, that I must leave you and the children, that I cannot help you to provide food for them, nor be a protector, and that you are not minded like we are; but I hope that this will come about in the course of time. ...do your best to follow the truth, and to bring up the children in the fear of the Lord.

A Testament of Lenaert Plovier to his children, written at Antwerp in the year 1560. (Pp. 642-43, *Martyrs' Mirror.*)

...Therefore, dear children, see that you obey your mother, and honor her, for it is written: "Honor thy father and mother, that thou mayest live long in the earth, and that it may be well with thee; for he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death." Ex. 20:12; Eph. 6:2, 3; Ex. 21:17. And be not obstinate, or gainsaying, or quarrelsome, but kind. Neither lie; for it is written: "The mouth that lieth slayeth the soul; for a liar has no part in the kingdom of God, nay, his part shall be in the burning lake." Wisd. 1:11; Rev. 21:8. Be industrious with your hands, so as to help your mother gain a living. Gen. 3:19; Eph. 4:28. *Be not backward in* *learning to apply yourself to books*, so that when you have attained to years of understanding, you may seek your salvation. Be always modest in your words, as becomes children. And when you have come to years of understanding, take a Testament, and see what Christ has left and commanded us there; for all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. 2 Tim. 3:16, 17; For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, ...

A Testament of Soetgen van den Houte, which she left her children, David, Betgen, and Tanneken, 1560. (Pp. 646-650, *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

...My dear children, since it pleases the Lord to take me out of this world, I will leave you a memorial, not of silver or gold; for such jewels are perishable: but I should like to write a jewel into your heart, if it were possible, which is the word of truth, in which I want to instruct you a little for the best with the Word of the Lord, according to the little gift I have received from Him and according to my simplicity.

In the first place, I admonished you, my most beloved, always to suffer yourself to be instructed by those who fear the Lord; then you will please God, and as long as you obey good admonition and instruction, and fear the Lord, He will be your Father and not leave you orphans....

...My most beloved, grieve not when you are corrected, and speak not crossly to those who correct you. A soft answer turneth away wrath; but grievous words stir up anger. Prov. 15:1. If you are corssly spoken to, learn to answer kindly, and you will be loved by all men; for humility and meekness are acceptable to both God and men.

Furthmore, my dear children, I admonish you, to beware of lying; for liars have no part in the kingdom of God. Rev. 21:8. It is also written: he whose mouth lieth, his soul shall die." Prov. 12:12; Wisdom 1:11. Therefore, my dear children, beware of it; for he that deals in lies is loved by no one.

My dear children, keep this in your hearts; my dear lambs, guard your tongue, that it speak no evil; neither practice deceit with your lips; nor be guilty of backbiting; for thereby come contention and strife; but Paul teaches us to live peaceably with all men if it be possible. 1 Pet. 3:10; Romans 12:18.

My most beloved, keep this sent you from your mother; and obey your parents; and those whose bread you eat, and all who admonish you to virtue. Eph. 6:1. Always be diligent to do your work, wherever you be, for Paul says that if any will not work, neither shall he eat. 2 Thess. 3:10.

...Let no impure thoughts remain in your hearts, but engage yourselves with psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, and evil thoughts will have no room. Neither let filthiness proceed out of your mouth; for of this an account will have to be given. Eph. 5:19: Matt. 12:36.

Furthermore, my most beloved, wherever you be esteem yourselves as the least, and be not wise in your own conceit, but always suffer yourselves to be instructed by those who are above you, and always be silent when others speak. Humble yourself beneath all men; for whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; but he that shall humble himself shall be exalted. Matt. 23:12. For Christ, who is the greatest, made Himself the least, for an example unto us...

My children, be also just in all your dealings; for in the way of the just there is life, and in the beaten path there is no death. It is joy to the righteous to do that which is right, but fear to evil doers. Further, choose to earn your bread by the labor of your hands, and to eat your bread with peace. Seek not to be a merchant, nor to be anxious for great gain. Better is little with the fear of God, than great treasure and trouble therewith. Better is a dry morsel, and quietness, than a house full of sacrifices with strife. Prov. 15:16; 17:1.

My children, love not dainties, nor wine. He that desires costly feasts will not become rich; but be content with the labor of your hands. Overtax no one, but be satisfied with what is reasonable, as you have seen of me. Be burdensome to no one, as long as you can obtain the things needful. It is more blessed to give than to receive. Acts 20:35. And Paul says: "If ye have food and raiment, be therewith content." 1 Tim. 6:8.

...O my lambs, you are still in your youth, in your infancy, you have yet your part in your Father's kingdom, see that you keep it well and do not as Esau did, who gave his inheritance or birthright for a mess of pottage; not regarding his father's blessing, he gave it away for perishable food. Gen. 25:33. But Jacob chose the better part, and was obedient to God and his father, walking the ways of the Lord with all righteousness.

My most beloved, seek instruction, so that you may be taught, and know which is the true way; for you may now choose life or death, good or evil; whichever you desire, shall be given you (Sirach 15:17); namely, if you delight in evil, so that you choose the pleasures of the world (from which springs all unrighteousness), namely, lying and cheating, gambling, playing, swearing, cursing, backbiting, hatred, envy, drunkenness, banqueting, excess, idolatry, covetousness, lasciviousness, vanity, filthy conversation, dancing and so forth; which things, though the world does not consider them sins, but amusements, are nevertheless abominations in the eyes of the Lord. 1 Pet. 4:3.

...O my dear children, I have written this in tears, admonishing you out of love, praying for you with a fervent heart that, if possible, you might be of this number (of the righteous). For when your father was taken from me, I did not spare myself day or night to bring you up, and my prayer and solicitude was constantly for your salvation, and even while in bonds my greatest care has always been that my prudence did not enable me to make better provision for you. For when it was told me, that you had been taken to Oudenarde, and then to Bruges, it was a hard blow for me, so that I never had a greater sorrow....

David, my dear child, I herewith commend you to the Lord. You are the oldest, learn wisdom, that you may set your sisters a good example; and beware of bad company, and of playing in the street with bad boys; but diligently learn to read and write, so that you may get understanding. Love one another without contention or quarreling; but be kind to each other. Let the one that is wise bear with him who is simple, and admonish him with kindness. Let the strong bear with the feeble, and help him all he can, out of love. Let the rich assist the poor, out of brotherly love. Let the younger obey the older in that which is good. Admonish one another to be industrious, so that people may love you. Exhort one another to good works, to modesty, honorableness and quietness. Always care for one another; for the time has come that love shall wax cold; yea, if it were possible, the very elect would be deceived. Matt. 24: 12, 24. Hence, take heed and learn diligently to search the Scriptures, so that you may not be deceived; but always hold to the first and second commandment, which will teach you aright. Do not easily believe it, when evil is told you of another, but examine the matter; and make no commotion when you are slandered, but bear it for Christ's sake.

Love your enemies, and pray for those who speak evil of you, and afflict you. Rather suffer wrong, than that you should grieve another; rather suffer affliction than that you should afflict another; rather be reproached, than that you should reproach another; rather be slandered, than that you should slander another; rather be robbed, than that you should rob another; rather be beaten, than that you should beat another, and so forth.

...Further, my dear children, Betgen and Tanneken, my beloved lambs, I admonish you in all these same things, as that you obey the commandments of the Lord, and also obey your uncle and aunt, and your elders, and all who instruct you in virtue. To those whose bread you eat, you must be subject in all that is not contrary to God. Always diligently admonish yourselves to do your work, and you will be loved wherever you live. Be not quarrelsome, or loquacious, or light minded, or proud, or surly of speech, but kind, honorable and quiet, as behooves young girls. Pray the Lord for wisdom, and it shall be given you. Diligently learn to read and write, and take delight therein, and you will become wise. Take pleasure and engage in psalms, hymns and spiritual songs. Seek for the *only* joy. Learn to please the Lord from your youth, as did the holy women and virgins, as Judith. Judith 8.

...My dear children, this I leave you as a memorial or testament. If you put it to good use, you will gather more treasure by it, than if I had left you many riches, which are perishable; for the riches of this world may be lost through fire, war, or misfortune...

...Give diligence to read the Testament. Amen.

A Second Letter of Soetgen van den Houte to her children. (P. 651, *Martyrs' Mirror.*)

O my dear lambs, see that you do not spend your youth in vanity, or pride, or drinking, or gluttony, but in sobriety and humility in the fear of God, and diligence in every good work, that you may be clothed with the adornment of the saints, so that God may make you worthy through His grace, to enter in to the marriage of the Lamb, and that we may see you there with joy. Your father and I, and many others, have shown you the way. Take an example from the prophets and apostles, yea, Christ Himself, who all went this way; and where the head has gone before, there the members must certainly follow.

Herewith I commend you to the Lord, and to the Word of His grace. This is my last farewell, my dear lambs; always remember each other in love; diligently learn to read and write, and obey everyone in that which is good. When your brother David and Tanneken come to you, greet one another with a friendly kiss of peace, in my name.

...Written by me Soetgen van den Houte, your mother in bonds; written in haste (while trembling with cold), out of love for you all. Amen.

A testament from Maeyken Boosers to her children. (P. 668, *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

O beloved children, search the Scriptures, and conform to them, that you may hear the blessed words: "Come, ye blessed, inherit the kingdom of my Father." Pray the Lord for wisdom, and learn to fear God, and you will get true understanding. Do not conform to the world, in pride, dancing, running, and idle gossip; but evince by your walk a godly life, adorn yourselves like the holy women, accept the Scriptures and live according to them, that your souls may be saved, and that we may meet hereafter. May the Almighty God, the King of kings, grant you His grace according to the riches of His goodness, to be strengthened in the inner man, and that Christ may dwell in your hearts; and may He guide you into all truth. I pray you, my dear children, be peaceable among yourselves, for this a fruit of the Spirit. Willingly help one another, without gainsaying, and always remember the poor; communicate willingly of all that you have; make yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; love that which is eternal, and not what is temporal; seek the heavenly, and not the earthly, for all flesh is as grass....

My children, do according to the will of the Lord; I, your mother, hope to walk the way before you. Mark wherein and how I go before you, and regard not the honor of the world, but esteem it an honor to suffer for the name of our God....

Always be subject to those who instruct you in righteousness, and reprove you when you transgress. Farewell, and herewith adieu to you in this world. My dear children, fear God, and eschew all evil.

Discourse between Jacob de Roore, or the Chandler, and Friar Cornelis, a Franciscan Monk. (P. 775 ff. *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

Fr. Corn.: Ah Bah! What do you understand about St. John's Apocalypse? At what university did you study? At the loom, I suppose; for I understand that you were nothing but a poor weaver and chandler, before you went around preaching and rebaptizing out here in the Gruthuysbosch. I have attended the university at Louvain, and studied divinity so long, and yet I do not understand anything at all about St. John's Apocalypse; this is a fact.

Jac.: Therefore Christ thanked His heavenly Father, that He had revealed and made it known to babes, and hid it from the wise of this world, as is written. Matt. 11:25.

Fr. Corn.: Exactly; God has revealed it to the weavers at the loom, to the cobblers on their bench, and to bellows-menders, lantern-tinkers, scissors-grinders, broom makers, thatchers, and all sorts of riff-raff, and poor, filthy and lousy beggars. And to us ecclesiastics who have studied from our youth, night and day, He has concealed it. Just see how we are tormented. You Anabaptists are certainly fine fellows to understand the holy Scriptures; for before you are rebaptized, you can't tell A from B, but as soon as you are baptized, you can read and write. If the devil and his mother have not a hand in this, I do not understand anything about you people.

Jac.: I can well hear that you do not understand our way of doing; for you ascribe to Satan the grace which God grants our simple converts, when we with all diligence teach them to read.

(P. 783)

Fr. Corn.: Bah, you have preached enough now, for my head begins to ache severely from it. Hence, let us now dispute about Anabaptism and infant baptism, and be done with it. Speak, and let us hear why the sacrament of baptism is not necessary to children for their salvation, as you Anabaptists preach and teach; though ill betide you.

Jac.: Christ says, Mark 16:16: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." Now if one of the two were necessary to children for their salvation, faith is more necessary to them for salvation than baptism.

Fr. Corn.: Indeed? and would you thus exclude from heaven all the poor, innocent children that die unbaptized in original sin? and would you relegate them with so many hundred thousand millions to hell into eternal perdition, eh?

Jac.: No, we do not want to do this; for we believe that infants are nevertheless saved, though they die unbaptized; for they are baptized and cleansed in the blood of Jesus Christ, as John says, in the first chapter (v. 7) of first epistle: "The blood of Jesus Christ his son cleanseth us from all sin." Christ, also (Matt. 19:14) says: "For of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Fr. Corn.: But I must ask you one more question: When you Anabaptists have children that remain simple or idiots, and they grow to be twenty, thirty, forty, yea, eighty, or ninety years old, do you allow them to die unbaptized, because they cannot comprehend your belief and doctrine? For one that remains all his life simple, or an idiot, can certainly not be taught. What do you do with them at any rate? Let us hear once, but briefly; for your talk begins to be very irksome to these good sirs, as well as to me, and it is getting late, and I am tired, that I am.

Jac.: To such innocent, simple and childish persons belongs the kingdom of heaven, as Christ says. Matt. 19:14.

Discourse between Herman Vleckwijk, imprisoned at Bruges in 1569, and Friar Cornelis. On pp. 787-788, *Martyrs' Mirror*, the subject of original sin in children is thoroughly discussed.

First letter of Jacob the Chandler to his wife, (p. 798 ff., *Martyrs' Mirror*).

Furthermore, I pray you, my dear and much beloved wife, that you do the best with my children, to bring them up in the fear of God, with good instruction and chastening, while they are still young, for with the rod their back is bowed, and they are brought into obedience to their parents. Hence it is written: "He that loveth his son causeth him oft to feel the rod; and he that spareth his rod, hateth his son: but he that loveth him instructeth his betimes." Sir. 30:1; Prov. 13:14. For instruction must accompany chastisement: for chastisement demands obedience, and if one is to obey, he must first be instructed. This instruction does not consist in hard words, or loud yelling; for this the children learn to imitate; but if one conducts himself properly towards them, they have a good example, and learn propriety; for by the children the parents are known. And parents must not provoke their children to anger, lest they be discouraged; but must bring them up with admonition and good instruction. Eph. 6:4; Col. 3:21.

A letter of Joost Verkindert, written from prison, 1570, to his mother-in-law. (P. 854, *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

...I commend to you my dear wife and her two little orphans, desiring that you will help exercise a Christian care over them, and do not spare the rod on the children. Associate with R. as much as is possible for you, lest she becomes despondent, for I know that I am dear to her heart....

A letter from Hendrick Verstralen to his wife, written from prison, A.D. 1571. (Pp. 877-879, *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

...My dearest wife, take care as long as you live, of my young lambs, my Susanneken, my Abrahamken, and my Isaaken, that they may be brough up in the fear of God. Oh, with what scalding tears do I pray to my God, to let them grow up in His fear, or to take them to Him in their youth.

...Hearken, my wife, my dearest love on earth, follow my advice for the Lord's sake; go and sell all that you can spare, which is little, and live as plainly as possible, for a widow can get along with very little; and seek an honorable quiet girl that does not keep company with youthful companions; and flee youthful lusts, and do the best with my little children. The Lord shall care for you, ...

A letter of Jan Wouterss to his only daughter, 1572.
(Pp.914-16, *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

...my only daughter, attend to the instruction of your beloved father. Thus, what I tell you according to the Scripture is this: "Consider the wickedness of the world, the learned with the magistrates, and their adherents, how they shed the innocent blood; they are called spirituals and Christians." Hence I beseech you, my dearest daughter, do not follow them, for they walk not in the right way, to this I bear witness. And read the Holy Scriptures, and when you have attained your years, consider and ponder it well; and pray the Lord for understanding them, and you shall be able to discern good from evil, lies from truth, the way of perdition, and the narrow way that leads into eternal life. And when you then see pomp, boasting, dancing, lying, cheating, cursing, swearing, quarreling, fighting and other wickedness, such as drinking to intoxication, kneeling down before wood, stone, gold, silver, or bread, think then: "This is not the right way, these are not the works of Christians, as the holy Scriptures teach. Such works proceed not from the Spirit of God, but from the spirit of Satan."...

...we are a plain, small and unlearned people....

...Thus, my dearest daughter, lay it to heart, despise it not, for it is of great importance to you; and diligently search (when you have received understanding from the Lord) the holy Scriptures, and you will find, that we must follow Christ Jesus, and obey Him unto the end; and you will also truly find the little flock who follow Christ. And this is the sign: they lead a penitent life; they avoid that which is evil, and delight in doing what is good; they hunger and thirst after righteousness;

they are not conformed to the world; they crucify their sinful flesh more and more every day, to die unto sin, which wars in their members; they strive and seek after that which is honest and of good report; they do evil to no one; they pray for their enemies; they do not resist their enemies; their words are yea that is yea, and nay that is nay; their word is their seal; they are sorry that they do not constantly live more holily, for which reason they often sigh and weep....

...I further pray you, my dearest daughter, that you first of all love and obey your dear, beloved mother. If your beloved mother gets to be an aged woman, always show her great honor; and always do your best with her; it is a commandment of the Lord which has a promise. For if you do not love your dearest, beloved mother, how can you love our dear Lord, whom you do not see....

Testimony of the schoolmaster of Nieuwvaert, near Breda, in 1572, regarding the Anabaptists in that region. (Pp. 930-31, *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

The schoolmaster of Nieuwvaert, called Master Pieter Claes van der Linden, who had disputed five hours with Jan Pieterss and was greatly embittered against this people, gives nevertheless this testimony concerning them, that their chief and principal errors are: "That they do not baptize infants; that they cannot believe that Christ had His flesh and blood from Mary; and that they regard themselves as the little flock and the elect of God. But that, with this exception, their life and conversation is better than that of many others, and that they also seek to bring up their children in better discipline and fear of God, than many other people. That he also had of their children in his school, who were apter and learned more readily than any others. That he and many others deeply deplored the great persecution and vexation inflicted upon these people, and especially that on account of the men the poor women and children were so lamentably stripped of all their possessions, and driven away into misery."

A Testament from Bartholomeus Panten to his little daughter, who after her father's death was put into a convent by the priests. From Ghent, 1592. (P. 1087, *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

...Thus my dear child, lay this to heart, and when you attain to your understanding, it is my fatherly request of you, that you will join yourself to those that fear God, who are by far the least among all people, but are yet the true congregation and church of God, who regulate themselves according to the ordinances of the Lord, ...

Testimony of Aeltgen Baten, shortly before her death, 1595. (P. 1092, *Martyrs' Mirror*.)

..."We trust to offer up our sacrifice within one hour; we thank you heartily for (the visit), and I request you to please tell my husband, to bring up my children in the fear of God."

6. TÄUFERÄKTEN KOMMISSION SERIES

(*Quellen Zur Geschichte Der Taüffer In Der Schweiz*, Erster Band, Zürich, 1952, p. 13.)

Konrad Grebel and colleagues addressing Thomas Müntzer:

All children who have not yet come to know the difference between good and evil, and have not yet eaten from the tree of knowledge, will certainly be saved through the suffering of Christ, the new Adam. He restored their life. If Christ had not suffered, they would have been subject to death and damnation. The children were not yet mature (grown up) enough to be corrupt. Prove then to us that Christ had not suffered for the children. We exclude children from the requirement of having faith as the basis for salvation. We believe they will be saved without faith. And from the above-mentioned verses and the description of baptism and the stories (according to which no children were baptized), likewise from other writings which do not refer to children we conclude that infant baptism is a senseless, blasphemous abomination of all Scripture.

Petition of the Anabaptists of Grüningen, addressed to the Provincial Diet. (c. 1527, supposedly by George Blaurock) *Ibid.*, (p. 238).

As an answer to those who do not abide by the Word of Christ and maintain that "the children are under the promise, who will keep the water from them," we say, we know that they are under the promise. For Christ said "for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." Infant baptism is not a plant that grew in the Word of God. Therefore it must be weeded out. But they are looking for another way or another door, therefore they are thieves and murderers of Christ...

Minutes of an Interrogation of Anabaptists before the Aldermen of Lörrach 1582, July 13.

A. Questioning of Valentin Roser:

Whether he believes that a child is a sinner?

No, for unto such the Kingdom of Heaven is promised.

Why then does the Scripture say that the children were conceived and born in sin?

God does not want any sinner in his Kingdom, and if children are heirs to the Kingdom of God, how can they be considered sinners?

B. Questioning of Hanns Ludi:

...A child is saved by his (einheligkeit?) and innocence, God has promised Heaven to the children, one should let them come to Him.... *Quellen Zur Geschichte Der Täuffer*, IV. Band, Baden und Pfalz, 1951, p. 71 ff.

Interrogation of Witnesses about the Anabaptists Andres and Jacob Lemperlin in Reichstal Harmersbach on March 16, 1592, by Dr. Johann Ulrich Erndlin, Commissioner of the High Court of Justice. (P. 379. Quoted and translated into English in *Reformers and Their Stepchildren*, Verduin, p. 108).

Be it made known that neither the boys nor their deceased parents had ever been contemptuous of the sacraments of the Lord, or failed to acknowledge the proper authority of God, but that they were taught by the minister himself, that they had learned to read German books, that they had been brought up properly and honorably, had never resorted to swearing and cursing. Were they perhaps for such reason suspected to be Anabaptists? ("darumb sie etwas als Widertauffer gespeirt worden").

7. PETER PETERS

Alkmaar, Holland, (1574-1651) Chapter, "Gerhard und Friedenreich," p. 197.

"I freely confess that one must not trust any man, be his status ever so high, mighty, learned, be he ever so eloquent and intelligent. All this means nothing if such men go to battle against the life of our Lord Jesus and the teachings of the Holy Gospels; therefore continue in your sound teaching."

8. M. SIMEON FRIDERICH RUES, 1743

Observations on the Mennonites in The Netherlands: (*Von dem Gegenwartigen Zustande Der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten 1743*, p. 12. Tr. by Ilse Reist.)

These three big groups had in common that they partly gave up or mollified the old doctrines. In their church practices and church constitutions as well as their outer way of living they adapted themselves more to their surroundings. They became wealthy through their commerce and their modest way of living. Through their trade they had increasingly contact with other people, and this made their own customs more flexible. Another factor in their adaptation was an increasing interest in the sciences which crept in among many of them.

Concerning the Instruction of Children: But as to the instruction of children, they were sent to reformed or Lutheran schools. For none of the congregations, except the first two mentioned, had the privilege of having their own public schools.... Besides, the children can attend private schools here and there. Consequently they must get their Christian teaching from their parents and from the sermons; the latter lend themselves all the more to instruction because they are mostly nothing else but continuous installments of the confession of faith, as we shall hear later on. *Ibid.* (p. 49).

About scholarship: They do not completely reject scholarship (learning). Some of their people are beginning to study languages. They let these people go. But in all things they: 1) do not look for learning among their elders and teachers, but they are solely interested that these men know the Scriptures, have the right faith (according to their viewpoint) and lead a life of integrity; 2) they continue to consider learning to be a bodily exercise in which there is little merit; 3) they will not allow a pupil to attend a school of higher learning, because they fear that what he hears there will ruin his life. Much less will they expose their sons to professors of the remonstrants or to the other professor which was recently hired by the united Waterlandish and Flemish congregations in Amsterdam. For they have reason to believe that these teachers differ much more as to doctrines of faith than any of the Evangelical-Lutheran or the Reformed churches possibly could; 4) from the above stated reasons one can easily understand that these people have neither the intention nor the ability to write a lot or to print publications. In the meantime, a teacher of the Danzig group in Haarlem is writing a catechism for these congregations, which will soon be printed. The leaders of these groups expect much from this catechism. *Ibid.* (Pp. 40,41).

9. GERRIT ROOSEN (1612-1711)

Mennonite Elder of Hamburg-Altona. (*Christliches Gemütsgespräch* 1702. From 1930 ed., Scottdale, Pa., p. 240. A widely used catechism among the European Mennonites and also by the Amish.)

A mother loves her children while they are still very young and small, and she has a lot of work, worry and trouble with them. As long as they are small, the bond of love between mothers and children is especially strong. When the children get older, they often follow their own will. They go against their parents' counsel and approval, and by doing that they may even suffer harm in soul and body. To obey father and mother, to fear love and honor them is the first commandment that ends with a promise (Eph. 6:2).

See Questions and Answers on Article 12, Confession of Faith, "On Water Baptism by Faith: in the same source. (Pp. 97 ff.)

10. CHRISTOPHER DOCK, THE SCHOOL MANAGEMENT TREATISE, 1770

(Gerald Studer, *Christopher Dock: Colonial Schoolmaster.* Scottdale, Pa., 1967. Pp. 290-294.)

For Resolving Quarrels

With the children's quarrels it is also much easier to bring about reconciliation than among adults. If children fall into some disagreement among themselves, whether in school or on the road, and if after investigation it is found that both sides are at fault, and one is as much to blame as the other, then their transgression on both sides and also the punishment deserved thereby are explained to them, and if they still should not get along with each other the punishment would be meted out. Then they are told that if they are not inclined to "make up" they are to be separated from the other pupils at once and sit together on the punishment bench until they can get along with each other: If they do not make up, the deserved penalty follows. But it rarely happens that the children have to be separated from the group and sit on the punishment bench. They prefer to shake hands, thereby settling the affair, and the case is ended. If this could happen so easily among adults, and if they could forgive and forget like children, then

[Brumbaugh's translation]

By lawsuits no purses depleted would be,
And lawyers would never wax rich on their fee.
    Gnawing conscience would come to rest,
    With love and peace life would be blest;
Much less of ache and dole
For heart and soul.

For Stopping Chattering and Restoring Silence

This is for children the hardest lesson, which they will scarcely be willing to learn of their own accord. It takes a long time to learn to speak, and when they can do it they are loath to be restrained from it. But it is impossible among the children in school to teach anything proper or implant anything for improvement unless speech has its time, and silence also has its time. But this rule is very hard for the children to adjust to; and it seems that we adults have ourselves not yet completely learned this lesson—that speech and silence have their proper times which we ought oftener to regard in speaking and in being silent. Nor does the small member, the tongue, let itself be easily tamed. One cannot discipline it with the rod like other members of the body; and the transgressions that are committed with words are done by the tongue in accord with the state and the inner condition of the heart (Matt. 12:25). Although with children the speaking and talking that they do among themselves does not arise from any bad intention, still it is impossible to produce fruitful results unless speech and silence have their time. To bring them to this point I have, to be sure, tried many different ways and means, which served for a while, but when they became accustomed to them, I instituted something different to keep the children quiet. The method and manner in which I have hitherto brought them to silence is this:

First, when the lesson is assigned they learn it by the custom of this country and of England by repeating it aloud. To keep them all learning I walk about in the room until I think they have had enough time to learn their lesson. Then I strike the blackboard with my rod and everyone suddenly becomes quiet. The first one then begins to recite. During this time one of the monitors (who has been thus appointed) must stand on a bench or other elevated place in the room so that he has a view of all, and report by first and last names all who talk or study aloud or do anything else that is forbidden, and then write the names down. Since I have found that if one appoints the monitors in succession some will report according to their likes or dislikes, such as are unfaithful in this are not appointed and are henceforth not given this position unless they themselves promise in the future to supervise faithfully. Likewise, if one goes to the punishment bench for lying he is not appointed as a monitor unless he has for a considerable time conducted himself well so that one feels nothing like that about him any longer. Then when the school is provided with a good monitor and it becomes quiet, one can have them recite, or undertake something else with them that is edifying. When the recitation is finished, if one wishes to take no further steps, the matter is forgotten. But if it happens several times and one feels that they regard it lightly, then those reported by the monitor must step forward and take their places one after the other on the punishment bench. Then they are given their choice, whether they prefer to wear the yoke or receive a rap on the hand. They seldom choose the yoke but usually hold out their hands to the rod.

This is the information I have in reply to his request as to how I get the children quiet. But I by no means have any idea of prescribing a rule herewith for anybody else according to which he should conduct himself. No indeed! In this matter let every man conduct his own household and lead it as he thinks he can best answer for, before God and men. But if my present school management, which I have described here upon request, not from my own impulse, seems to be irregular because in various respects it is contrary to the customary practice in Germany and elsewhere, to them I give this account: In this province among the free inhabitants of Pennsylvania many things that concern the school are different. For the teacher in Germany whose position is established by the government, and whose chair is firmly fixed, cannot easily be deposed by the common man. Therefore he is also not so likely to be in danger of men if he treats the children too sharply. Nevertheless I freely confess, even if I were established by high authority, still in truth, even though I had the power from God and high authority to use severity, it is after all given only for correction, not for harm. Experience in teaching proves that a child that is slow in learning is harmed rather than helped when he is punished severely, whether with words or with the rod. If such a child is to be corrected, it must be done by other means. Likewise, a child that is dull is more harmed than helped by blows. A child that is treated with too many blows at home, and is used to them, cannot be corrected with blows in school; he becomes still more injured. If such children are to be helped it must be by other means.

The children that are stubborn, who do not hesitate to commit evil deeds, must be severely punished with the rod, and in addition be addressed with earnest admonition from God's Word; his heart may perchance be hit thereby. But the slow and dull in learning must be corrected by other measures, whereby they may possibly be made freer in spirit and the desire to learn may spur them on. When the children are that far along, neither the children nor the schoolmaster find it hard any longer. For if all those who are in the same vocation as I will properly consider how precious such young souls are in the sight of God, and that we must on their account also give account of our stewardship—although they have the power to punish, they will much rather work with me to the end that the children may come to do voluntarily that which they are otherwise compelled by the rod to do. For the words "You shall" and "You must" do not have the same tone as "I obey with pleasure." For the latter tone the schoolmaster needs no rod, and it is lovelier to hear and easier to answer for. Psalm 110:3 says: Your people will offer themselves freely on the day you lead your host upon the holy mountains [RSV]. For that which is done willingly in the physical or spiritual realm no compulsion is needed. Further Psalm 32:8, 9 says: I will instruct you and teach you the way you should go: I will counsel you with my eye upon you. Be not like a horse or a mule, without understanding, which must be curbed with bit and bridle, else it will not keep with you [RSV]. Here it can be seen again that those who accept instruction and allow themselves to be led do not need a bit and bridle. One sees this difference in the unreasoning animals. One drives does not need half as much calling, whipping, and beating on his horses as the other, and still is drawing just as heavy a load, or even heavier, over hill and dale. After the work is done the willing horses and also their drives have had it easier; the horses felt fewer blows, and the driver did not have to treat them with severe punishment. They did willingly what the others were compelled to do through severity.

11. RESPONSIBILITIES OF PARENTS TOWARD THEIR CHILDREN:
GEORGE JUTZI (STARK COUNTY, OHIO), 1843

(Addressed to his sons who had families of their own. Translated from the German.) J. Stoll, *The Challege of the Child.* Aylmer, Ontario, 1967, p. 43.

The responsibility to teach your children lies fully upon you, for both the Old and New Testaments command you as parents to bring them up in the fear and admonition of the Lord.

Now, I beg you, take this to heart, and picture in your imagination the everlasting remorse of a father who has not brought up his children in the way they should go. (I am not speaking of disobedient children, who do not honor their parents, nor follow their wishes; only of those parents and children where the parents neglect their duties in teaching their children, indeed, allowing them all they wish, without directing them to God's Word and His punishments.)

When, at the day of Judgment, such an unfaithful father is to stand before the throne of the Almighty God—before God who commanded that children be reared in Christian nurture and admonition—; if such a father were to see standing at the left hand of the Judge his own children, who perhaps—I say, perhaps,—would not stand there had he as a true father warned them of the way that leads to damnation;—Oh, for a father in such a pitiable state it would be forever too late to becry his neglect; all his sorrowing and contrition could help neither him nor his children, for the time of grace is fled, and eternal weal or woe is at hand.

But you, my esteemed children, are now still in the days of salvation; your earnest efforts may yet benefit greatly if you consider what has been done in the past, and what you should do in the future, what your responsibilities toward your children are; yea, what faithful and true parents may look forward to beyond the grave, if they with all consecration seek to fulfill their parental duties, sowing the good seed to a harvest eternal.

12. AN EXHORTATION TO MY CHILDREN, DAVID BEILER (AMISH BISHOP), 1857

(David Beiler, *Das Wahre Christentum*, 1857. Scottdale, Pa., 1951. Pp. 5-31. Tr. by Ilse Reist.)

I have felt convinced in my heart that I should leave something in writing for my children and grandchildren as a means for instruction, for Paul tells us, to exhort one another daily as long as there is time, lest we fall into sin.

The Lord said to Abraham: "I know that he will tell his children to follow after him in the ways of the Lord, so that they would keep the Lord's commandments."

Peter says: "I want to make sure that when I leave you you will remember that we did not follow clever fables but that we ourselves have seen the glory of the Lord."

Therefore, my dear children, ponder well what our task really is and what the Lord requires of us. We have grown up, we received the ability to reason fully, we have bent our knees and promised to abide by God's precepts and teaching and to walk therein as long as the Lord lets us live (this is an important covenant). Now, what is the Lord teaching us by his word? First of all we are to recognize our sinful nature and inclinations and to understand that we are nothing indeed, that nothing good dwells in our flesh. Therefore, it is very important to arrive at a state of spiritual poverty. Man must come so far as to feel that by nature there is nothing good in him, that he is a poor sinner from his youth. And if God would deal with us a creditor, I am sure we would owe 10,000 pounds or perhaps more.

"Who can stand before Thee, when our sins are counted?" The Lord looks down from Heaven to see if there is anybody wise enough to inquire about him; but they have all become useless dissenters, there is none who does good, no, not even one.

He uses the children as an example for us and says: "Truly, I say to you, lest you turn and become like little children, you shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven." We know about the nature of children, their simple ways of thinking, their naivete. They are happy when they have their daily food. They don't search for many earthly goods, they don't quarrel a lot about things. And if they do dispute or are unloving, they soon get over it and forget it. Paul says: "When I was a child I spoke as a child, I thought and reasoned as a child, but when I became a man, I put away childish things." I believe that Christ and Paul perhaps wanted to say this: A true believer has such a frame of mind, such a disposition, that he neither wants to nor is able to grasp the mind set, the magnitude and the many practices of this world, and that he enjoys them as little as a child would. For the real and abiding treasure is in Heaven.

As a true father and example, Christ has graciously pointed out the innocence and simplicity of the child: namely, that children do not strive for honorable positions, for the favors of their fellowmen, for prestige, high social status. They do not strive to gather riches, to live and act with vanity and pride in the manner of the world, or quarrel about the goods of nature. Children are simple-minded and serene. When they quarrel from time to time, they quickly get over it and forget and forgive. It is their greatest pleasure to rest at their mother's breast and drink from it. What I want to say here is, that in the ways which I mentioned before, we must become like children.

In what grave danger is such a person who has daily contact with an unbeliever! Where is his refuge, his comfort, his support when it comes to disciplining children? If a home is to be Christian, both parents must do their duty, they must both act on the basis of mutual agreement. But not only that! They must be good examples and direct young people to that which is good, while earnestly praying to the Lord for his blessing and grace. However, if someone does not fear God, if he does not obey God's word, how can he then instruct someone else or his children in the Christian faith?

Looking at ourselves in our youth, what were some of the first tendencies we portrayed? Was there not disobedience against our parents' wishes and orders among other things? Selfwill shows up early in youth. We can observe that in our own children. And disobedience is often the beginning of many sins, leading eventually to a bad end. It is God's will that children should honor their father and mother. This was already decreed through Moses. It is repeated by Paul: "Children obey your parents, this is the first commandment and the promise. Honor your father and mother, that it may be well with you and that you may live long on the earth." Hence it follows that whoever ignores his parents' advice does not fear God as he ought. Jesus came as savior and redeemer to take away the sins of Adam and Eve, and He gave salvation and eternal life in the Kingdom of Heaven to children who die in innocence. When we think of the many hundreds of thousands of children who have thus been saved through Christ, we can safely believe that He made more disciples than John.

13. WHY ARE CHILDREN SOMETIMES DISOBEDIENT? 1882

(Anonymous. *Herold der Wahrheit*, January 15, 1882. Tr. from German. In Stoll, *Challenge of the Child*, 1967, 35.)

This question, we know, is one that many troubled parents have wondered about. Part of the answer lies in the Adamic nature of the child, but part of it, also, is the fault of the parents, who have failed to train the child as they should. This failure in training may stem from ignorance, as well as from an unconcerned attitude. Following are some reasons why children are disobedient:

1. Instructions are not always stated in the way they should be. The child does not feel that the parents mean what they say, or that the command is to be obeyed to the word.

2. Promises are frequently made to the children, but they are not kept. This encourages disobedience.

3. A threat of punishment is made, but is not carried out. The child loses respect for the parents.

4. The parent forbids something, yet later allows the child to have it, because the child has cried. Many a child is master of his parents through his crying.

5. Immediate obedience is not insisted upon as it should be. Putting things off till later has brought great trouble, and will bring trouble in this instance.

6. The parents neglect to explain to the child that disobedience to father or mother is also disobedience to God, and that it is a sin before God to disobey.

7. Too much is expected from the child. The parent gives the command, but fails to explain how it should be carried out. The child loses heart.

8. The child sees that his disobedience makes his parents angry, whereas it should make them sorrowful. Let your child know that his misdeeds sadden your heart, but never anger you.

9. Prayer is too often neglected. The best rules fail if God does not give His blessing. And His Spirit is the only thing that can bring true obedience. A good rule for training children, as for anything else, is—"Pray and labor."

14. THE NEED FOR CHURCH SCHOOLS

(S. D. Guengerich, *Deutsche Gemeinde Schulen.* Amisch, Iowa. 1897.) Tr. by J. Stoll in *Blackboard Bulletin*, March, 1965.

If we study the history of early Christianity, we find evidence upon evidence of a zeal for teaching their children the fundaments of the faith. In the first century, those who wished to be baptized were instructed for three months by the church leaders, during which time they practiced much fasting and self-examination.

In the year 200 A.D., the Christians of Alexandria had a school where the children were given instruction in the Christian faith. These schools are though to have been founded in the days of the Apostles.

In the year 231, we find that converts had to prepare themselves, and confess with their own tongues their faith, before they were baptized. We also read of children, ten to twelve years old, attending the school at Alexandria.

In the *Martyrs' Mirror* we read of one time when converts were instructed (in den Unterricht gingen) for three years prior to baptism. Also, that they met six and seven times a week for instruction. This must, without doubt, have been a school.

...But let us now turn to our own time. It is an accepted fact that what a person learns in his childhood, or in the school years, is not entirely forgotten, even in old age. The wise man Solomon says that a child trained in the way he should go will not depart from it when he is old.

(Prov. 22:6.) If a person is once accustomed to prayer, and to the holy Bible, even though for a time it may seem to be lost, it will at the last serve to his salvation, or to his condemnation. And, as parents, you will have saved your own souls by doing your duty to your children; if not, their blood will be required at your hands.

Now, my dear reader, think with me a little. Let us give this matter a close examination, that we may see what is our responsibility toward our children, according to the Word of God. And, if we have not in the past done our duty, let us wake now from the slumber of indifference, not seeking to justify ourselves with what was before us, namely, that our forefathers had no religious or church schools, etc. For we have proved in the above that our great-great-grandparents, and forefathers of the faith, did have schools with the exception of times of great persecution, when they were forced to go into hiding, and were so scattered that schools were an impossibility.

As we know, in later years they fled to this free country of America, and, as it appears, many were so poverty-stricken, one could rightly say, "driven by persecution into the wilderness, empty-handed." Here, for many years, they struggled on in poverty. How many of us can remember those times, except for what our parents and grandparents have related to us?

And yet, they were rich in faith. Many of them brought up their children with strict religious training. Perhaps the reason was this: At that time there were no schools at all, while now the free public schools are everywhere. These we must support, and to them we send our children; naturally, not for religious teaching, no, but for worldly knowledge.

...Many a well-meaning friend will say, "If we must pay the tax anyway, to support the public schools, then I want to send my children there. Otherwise, I will receive no benefit from it."

This we will not try to contradict; we believe that the lessons taught in public schools have their worth, in that for which they are intended, namely, to prepare a person to make a living. But, if our children are sent only to these public, or English, schools, their minds will be so saturated with this world's wisdom that little room will be left for Christianity. Nor will they have a desire for it. Then will the Christian life, yes, the better part which Mary chose, be given second place. Yet the Bible plainly says that we are to seek first the kingdom of God, and set our affection on things above, not on things of the earth.

Once a generation of such children has grown up, we will find many of them believing it is enough to have an outward form, and thinking it most important to provide their children with earthly possessions. But, my dear friends, this does not agree with God's Word. For, as we have shown above, our duty is to seek first the kingdom of God and the well-being of our souls. The righteousness which counts before God is neither sought nor found in the public or free schools; they are intended only to impart worldly knowledge, to ensure earthly success, and to make good citizens for the state. They are not to be despised, for they have their role, and this role they fulfill. But...as little as we can expect to gain worldly knowledge without schooling, so little are our chances to get a knowledge of the Bible without great efforts on our part.

We do not wish to pass judgement on anyone who has never given this matter serious thought; but in love we would like to remind each of us concerning our duty and responsibility. If we have not been doing our duty, let us put forth double effort, and lose no time with the vain argument, "Our forefathers had no church schools, ..."

Our forefathers also had no public schools, yet we have them almost everywhere. We have no fear in sending our children to them until they are 21, even though all they learn there is worldly knowledge and wisdom. And yet we are surprised that our children care so little for religion! One must wonder that there is anything at all left upon which to base a semblance of Christianity—for the people are so taken up with the things of this world that very little time, place, or desire is left for serious thought.

This is the reason why our Christian profession has so little root, and is so easily smothered by the cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches...

Let us look into the matter and, with the understanding God has given us, consider it rightly. Let us suppose a farmer were to sow oats, or even weed seeds, on his field, with but a kernel of wheat here and there. What would you say his harvest would be? There would be very little wheat. Oats are all right, but they do not take the place of wheat in wheaten-bread; even so, the wisdom of this world, and its morals, are no substitute for Christianity.

My beloved brethren, do not shrink from the matter, but let us examine this thing further, and compare it to our earthly work and dealings. In our daily labor and investments, we are alert to see whether or not our enterprise is a paying one. If it is not, we are quick to seek the cause; we must either give it up, or put forth greater effort.

If the weeds are choking out our corn in the field, we do not sit idly back and hope for favorable weather. We have to go to work, with redoubled effort and earnestness.

Is it not the same in spiritual matters? Do not the weeds of worldly conformity and wisdom, and a concern for riches and luxuries, as well as many other forms of spiritual weeds, crowd out the good fruit? These things are highly esteemed by the world, yet according to the clear words of our Lord, they are an abomination to God. Shall we be less concerned in spiritual things than we are in the things of this earth?

In our worldly pursuits, we expect to receive only what we have earned, according to the effort we have exerted, or the money we have invested—the harvest is according to the sowing.

...If our worship of God is to be true, it must come from a knowledge of the Scriptures, or it will be mere superstition.

In our community there are more than five hundred children of Mennonite parents. For several years we have been conducting German church schools, but hardly more than twenty-five pupils, for three months only. It is easy to deduct that this leave four hundred and seventy-five children who are not receiving this training. Why not? Simply because, on the whole, no effort is being made to establish more of these schools.

Is it not a wonder that our dear Lord is yet so merciful toward us? That with so little concern and interest on our side, there is still a desire at all for godly knowledge? If we were to use the same methods in making a living, we would soon have a begging cane in our hands!

We have made but a small beginning, but we know from experience that it is a good work, and a very necessary one. Our experience has also taught us that it is well worth the time and expense. When one sees the pupils studying at the blackboard, even the smaller ones can write that which their parents cannot read, because they have never learned it. In singing, they have also made good progress, and we have reason to believe it is not in vain. Who would say that the 1500 hymn verses which were memorized in one school, or the 1000 that were learned in the other, will be in vain, or as dead knowledge to the children?

It is to be regretted that this project is not promoted with greater interest and by more people. It is a shame (Schade) that the majority of our people consider these important matters only as something extra (Nebensache).

"Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." In what way can the above command be better obeyed than, with prayer in our hearts, bringing our children to Jesus to a Christian school where God's Word is read, lived, sung, and prayed? Oh, how great can be the influence, with God's help, on the tender hearts! Oh, what seed can be sown that will bear fruit to a ripe old age, if parents and able teachers, ministers and the whole church, work together in prayer and example.

What a heartfelt comfort to concerned mothers to be able to send their children with a prayer each morning to a trusted, earnest teacher who will attempt to fill the young hearts with God's Word; a teacher who sets a good example, and fills the hours of the day with singing, reading, praying, and explaining our faith and doctrines. Oh, how beautiful when each evening the children can relate to their father what they heard, read, sang, and wrote during the day, when the mother can kneel by the bedside of her dear ones and together say an evening prayer.

15. WHAT IS A GOOD EDUCATION?

Eli J. Bontreger, Amish Bishop, c. 1910. Editorial in *Herold der Wahrheit* (n.d.). From Stoll, *Challenge of the Child*, 1967, 77.

A good education does not mean simply book learning, or the acquiring of a great store of information, or a scholarship that has mastered the many branches of learning that are taught in the schools, colleges, and universities of this day. It does mean, however, a store of practical knowledge and skill, a knowledge that can discern between that which is good and useful and ennobling, and that which is a useless accumulation of learning in worldly arts and sciences. It means a discipline of character and intellect, which will be an aid in living a useful life.

16. AN ADMONITION, BY JOHANNES ESCH, 1944

To his descendants, written in the last year of his life and completed on his deathbed in 1944. (*Eine Vermahnung von Johannes Esch. An seine Nachkommenden, geschrieben im letzten Jahr von seinem Leben, vollendet auf sein Todesbette im Jahr 1953* (sic.) 1944. Six page tract. Tr. by Ilse Reist.)

Since I am now rather up in age and will probably soon leave this body I though of writing something for your contemplation. I trust that this will not cause anybody to err. Well, my dear children, I hardly know what to write, for you have already reached the age of men. You may already know more about what matters than I tell you. Therefore, this is to be just an encouragement for you to hold on to the accepted truth until your godly end, through Jesus Christ, Amen.

I believe that it will be one of your most important tasks to admonish your children who are already saved to hold on to faith and truth, and to bring the rest to find the saving faith and to keep it for life. It is likewise very necessary that your children teach theirs from little on to be obedient and to pray. For I believe that small children are helped much through their praying to overcome the world, flesh and blood, and to find true faith. In closing I wish you God's blessing. May we all go hand in hand to our Heavenly home, leaving nobody behind.

I have written this out of love for you. God knows that I seek no honor but only want to help those who come after me to find salvation.

More of His Writings:

Death is the wages of sin, but the gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord, Romans 6:23. I believe we would say it this way: Death is the wages of sin, but eternal life is a free gift of God. Why therefore do we hear so often that we must work out our salvation? Oh no, if that were possible, why would our dear Saviour have left his seat in Heaven and come into this cursed world in order to be despised, persecuted and finally nailed to the cross to redeem us from death? Salvation, so we believe, must be received as an inheritance, a free gift from our dear Heavenly father. As a result he wants to be honored by us in that we love him and keep his commandments. The apostle teaches us this: For you did not receive the spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received the spirit of sonship. When we cry "Abba! Father!" it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ, provided we suffer with him in order that we may also be glorified with him, Romans 8:15-18. Another holy writer teaches: Even though our salvation is a gift of grace unearned by us, we want to do all we can for Jesus out of love for him, because he did so much for us. However, we don't do it in order to earn anything. This same writer also expresses concern that by our speculating we rob Jesus of the honor we owe him. This is written out of loving concern for my descendants. May it all be to the glory, honor and praise of God.

Jesus says: For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes. 1 Cor. 11, 26, [RSV]—Why is that? I believe Jesus knows our poor frail and forgetful nature and he did not want us to forget his great gesture when he sacrificed himself for us in order to redeem us from eternal death. Our dear Saviour said: If you love me, keep my commandments. And this we profess to be one of his most important commandments. Why do some among us take this matter so lightly and would rather gratify the flesh than deny themselves and help establish that nobel peace which is such a necessary thing.

If we don't have peace within the congregation, how can we then hope that God is satisfied with us? With much regret and concern do I think of those among us who treat this matter so lightly. They are like Esau, enjoying the natural gratification instead of having spiritual gifts and blessings. There is a great blessing for us in the communion service. We feel the closeness of God, we see Him with spiritual eyes and we sense a heavenly joy that cannot be described. Dear Brethren and sisters in the Lord, for God's sake do not miss communion, but pray for the blessing and then the blessing will be given to you.

Examine everything, keep what is good and avoid all wrong pretense.

Oh my dear children, it looks as if Satan wants to come in our midst (our congregations). And it seems to me that he says that little things don't hurt. Yet those are the most dangerous wounds, because we don't pay attention to them. I think this is the way the enemy operates in the church. He tries to win the children over to him while they are still young. Let's reflect on this and imagine what hell is like. Oh, I must often weep when I think of the little children. I don't always see them, but they are close to my heart. Just think, what path these dear children might walk on! Let us lead them on the road to Heaven and let us warn them to avoid evil and seek good.

17. THE DUTY OF CHILDREN AND PARENTS

(Daniel E. Mast, *Ausweisung zur Seligkeit*, 1930, p. 264. Tr. by J.B. Mast; English ed. p. 435.)

"Ye children obey your parents in the Lord." Eph. 6:1.

This involves more than merely doing the work they ask you to do; it also means to give heed to their spiritual admonition, when they direct you to the plan of salvation. Some parents are spiritually inclined, but so inexperienced, that they can be of little help to their children along this line. These can take their children to church where they have the opportunity to develop their own conception of God from time to time, by the grace of God, that the good seed may grow, and they become useful members in God's church. Then the Lord can use them to build His Kingdom, to convert others to it.

It is my conviction that after I am dead, a younger generation, who will read these articles, will arise, and by divine unction proclaim the Full Gospel of Christ. These truths concerning the Kingdom of God, are destined to grow into a great tree where "the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof."

"Ye children, obey your parents." Then that divine mustard seed can grow. And if you fail to grow in this, then you are serving Satan, and the seeds of darkness of this world, and of Satan, will continue to grow in you to your utter destruction, unless you repent.

Children have many reasons to honor their parents. Think back to the time, when you were young and helpless, and your parents fed you, clothed you, and kept you clean; and when you were sick, they were greatly concerned, and had paternal sympathy; your Mother, perhaps, was even willing to bear all your pains hereself, had that been possible.

But she applied all the remedies within her reach, to help you out of your misery. It is also only natural to love the Father; and children, who fail to do so, are stubborn indeed. D.L. Moody writes: "Boys that dishonor their father and mother, as a rule, don't amount to much as citizens in a country, and still less as members in the church of God." Much truth is expressed in these few words.

"Honor thy father and thy mother, which is the first commandment with promise, that thy days may be long in the land, that the Lord, thy God, giveth thee." Here the Apostle had reference to the fifth commandment of the law; and includes happiness and blessing here upon earth: health, happiness, and a long life, and after death, eternal life. The will of Christian parents is God's will toward the children. And the same Apostle writes in the Colossians, 3:20: "Ye children, obey your parents in all things (no exception), for that is pleasing to the Lord."

Children, that have Christian parents, should thank God for them, for there are many children, whose parents know nothing of God, and Jesus Christ; but serve idols, and live without consolation and hope in this world; but not so with the readers of the Herald, who know about the crucified Christ, and the risen Redeemer. And to follow Him, you must separate yourself from this world. Children are so much inclined to follow the fashions of this world, which is directly against the Word of God. "And be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove, what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." Romans 12:2. As long as a person loves this world, and the world's fashions, just that long he cannot prove, and conceive what is that good, and perfect will of God. It is then doubly necessary, to separate yourself from the world, that this wicked world does not lead you away from God, so that you can prove, what the will of God is to you. From the beginning God has ordained, that the will of Christian parents is a law for their children; but by all means, they should observe it with a childlike love, because it serves them to salvation.

"Ye children, obey your parents in all things." He says, in ALL things—children, are you doing that? That means, you should not do whatever they forbid you to do, and should do all that they bid you to do, and if you don't do it, you violate a commandment in the new Testament, and fall from grace. You Fathers and Mothers, who read this, see to it, that your children will also read it, and if they cannot read well, and cannot understand it, help them; otherwise, I cannot talk to them. Your children are dear to my heart. Through them you must propagate the Church of God, and if we neglect to bring them to Jesus, then He cannot help us to propagate the church. Yes, if the Lord tarries (we do not know how long), I believe, that some of the juniors, in the children's department of the Herald, will be called of God after my departure, to arise in His name, and preach the crucified and risen Christ, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and the Greeks forgiveness; but to us who have faith, the power of God unto salvation.

My dear children, I cannot leave off to admonish, and warn you of Satan's snare. If he can draw you into his net, and hold you, then he had won a great victory; and the first snare he sets to catch you, is, violating the first commandment with promise, which is to honor your parents, and not obey them, which is the will of God for you; for the will of Christian parents, is the will of God to their children. Observe this, when you are disobedient to your parents in one thing, then you are already violaters of God's command, and will fall from grace. How can you expect the grace of God, as long as you willfully violate His command, which out of godly love, He gave you for the salvation of your soul? And as long as you do not love your parents, and out of love honor, and obey them, just so long you cannot love God, and honor His dear Son Jesus Christ, who shed His blood to save you from eternal perdition, into which all sinners and transgressors must go. It is a horrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

Dear children, if your parents are truly converted to God and seek God's favor in your behalf, you should honor their admonition, even though you are over twenty-one years old, or even past forty.

Where parents endeavor by the grace of God to instruct their children, who are a gift of God, in the precepts of the Lord, the home is glorified. This is the temple of God on earth. "Behold, a tabernacle of God with the people." There is peace in the family, God's Word is read and revered, as a preserving balm of the soul. God is magnified with reading, song and prayer, and all the heavenly hosts rejoice over the spiritual prosperity of such a family, cleansed from her sins, and the souls washed in the blood of the Lamb. Hallelujah! Amen.

Prove all things with the living Word of God, hold fast that which is good, abstain from all appearance of evil.

18. THE INFLUENCE OF MOTHERS AND GRANDMOTHERS, 1930

(Daniel E. Mast, *Ausweisung zur Seligkeit*, published by J.A. Raber, 1930, p. 686. English ed., p. 325. Tr. by Levi L.R. Troyer.)

Mother and grandmothers have a great influence over children; they also have more opportunity than a father has, for as a rule he has his work outside; he comes into the house for dinner; after his meal, he looks at his mail; a few words of encouragement to his family, and time is here to be at work again.

But the mother is in the house, and has time to answer childhood questions, and relate the Bible stories; and often grandmother is also present, she has had a varied experience, things worthwhile to know; and both, mother and children have opportunity to learn.

O blessed grandmother, who comes to her daughter's house, full of a mother's love and spiritual conversation of the faith; and is a cause for grandchildren to come to a saving faith. Again, if the opposite is true, instead of spiritual, she has fleshly, filthy, foolish talking or jesting, which are not becoming to a child of God. Eph. 5:4. Timothy was a fortunate youth, having had a Godly mother and grandmother, who taught him the holy Scriptures, and planted the first seeds of faith in his heart. I presume that early in his childhood, even before he could read for himself, they told him the glorious stories of the Old Testament, and he had a desire to learn. And this gave them more courage to instruct him about the great and wonderful Creator and Keeper of all things.

To you believing sisters in the Lord, take courage, you are bought with a price. Not with corruptable things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, as a lamb, who died for us all, to bless and give us salvation. Read the 16th chapter of Romans, see how Paul praised those sisters; they did more than serve foods, they also served at the spiritual table; they were servants for the apostles, like nurses in an operating room assist the surgeon by reaching him the needed instruments. Yes, the apostles were greatly assisted by these faithful sisters, which was a great benefit to these mission workers.

The influence of the sisters is great in the church, either for good, or on the opposite for bad. The women showed more love and heroism to Jesus than the apostles did, as they went on to Mount Golgotha, with weeping and sympathy they followed Him. Again they had the honor to see Him first after the resurrection. Mark 6:9. When the apostles heard about His appearing to the women they did not believe; it seemed to them as idle tales.

Again the sisters are needed in our public worship. Imagine our song service without women's voices, is like a sled on bare ground.

If we want to rear sons like Timothy, then we also need mothers and grandmothers like Eunice and Lois, who became righteous through faith and with the love of God in their hearts through the Holy Spirit, walking in the light as He (Jesus) is in the light; such have a great influence over children and the oncoming generation, and as Peter says in 1 Peter 3, so that they who obey not may without word be won by the conversation of the wives. While they behold your chaste conversation, coupled with fear, "Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel, but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptable, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price."

It seems to me plaiting of hair was excessively overdone at that time. At this time women of the world cut their hair, making themselves masculine, and the same spirit that cuts the hair around the head has also cut the hair of some of ours about the forehead to make a show of vanity. You mothers and grandmothers, teach your daughters something better than to be taken astray by fashions, for the proud in heart are an abomination to the Lord. It may reveal itself outwardly in whatever form it wishes, either among men or women.

May God help us all to an unfeigned faith, which Paul treasures so highly in Timothy, as also in his mother and grandmother. When this living faith reigns in the heart, then there is no room for the fashions of the world and whatever belongs to sin.

19. HOW TO BRING UP A CHILD IN THE LORD

(Daniel E. Mast, *Ausweisung zur Seligkeit*, 1930, p. 458. English ed., p. 282. Tr. by David J. Stutzman.)

Since I have written the rules for spoiling a child, (pp. 280-282) Grandmother Mast thought I should also write and explain the opposite side, or else not every one may understand my writing.

1. Do not give the small child everything it desires to have, especially if it is something that is not good for him to have, and tries to overcome it with crying, because they are smart scholars, and soon learn to cry for things and this spoils them.

2. And when they have grown older, and know what obedience and disobedience is, then teach them with a Fatherly and Motherly love to be obedient, cost what it may. And if he becomes unwilling and angry, then try to attract his thoughts with playthings, and if he becomes worse, and refuses them, and if nothing else avails, then as a last means-use the correcting rod in a way that you may overcome his anger. If the child's self-will is not conquered, then you have lost a great advantage in disciplining your child. But if you have overcome it by force, then let him know, that you are sorry that it was necessary to punish him to break his self-will. The younger you break the child's own will, the easier it is done, and the better it is for both you and him.

3. Give credit to the child, and commend him for the good he does. But reprove him for wrongdoing, though with love, and mildness, and mercy. And clothe him modestly in a Christian way according to the rules of your church. As soon as the child has sufficient knowledge, teach him why this simplicity must be practiced, instead of the fashions of the world.

4. When the child is told to do something, see to it that he obeys. Because obedience brings blessings, and disobedience a curse. Recently I was in the waiting room of a depot in St. Paul. A child of about three years of age, became disobedient. He became angry and cried with all his might. The mother did all she could to quiet him without punishing him. Everything that the mother and others offered him, he struck away. When she let him on the floor, then he threw himself on his back and kicked and cried with all his might. If she went away, he followed her, taking hold of her dress, as though he wanted to tear it from her. Then she carried him back and forth for at least twenty minutes in an effort to quiet him. Finally while in a fit of anger with screaming and striking with hand and feet, she took him up in her arms and left. Parents who do not break their child's self-will at home, may have similar experiences that are not pleasant.

5. Father and Mother should agree in all things in brining up their children. Where this is not the case, then there is much lacking. Then there can be no blessing expected. They should not let the child know of any disunity, but decide matters among themselves privately, and in a humble spirit.

6. Let your children know that you agree, and that each one approves the other's words, for their obedience.

7. Watch and pray with, and for your children, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and lead such a holy life with the help of God, that your children may consider you as Christian parents, and always making your words true. And consider matters seriously before you say, yes or no. But when once you have said this, then insist on it to be that way.

Too much can be required of children, making it impossible for them to do certain things. By scolding and blaming them, they become discouraged. We ourselves at times fall short of carrying out our plans, therefore let us not ask too much of the children.

8. Be careful with whom your children associate. For evil communications corrupt good manners.

9. Be very careful what your children read. Story books and News Papers should not be in a Christian home. See to it that Christian books and periodicals are kept on the table. And if there is good opportunity at noon hours, and when there is spare time, let them read and occupy their minds with spiritual things. The Bible is the Book of all books, and a portion of it should be read daily at the time of devotion.

10. Take the children along to church and Sunday School, helping them to become interested in the things pertaining to Christ's Kingdom, and to the Church of God.

11. Keep them small in their own eyes as long as you can; because children who consider themselves grown at an early age, easily fall into misbehavior, which they will not forget all their lives.

12. Keep them from spending their money wastefully, which usually leads to ruin. Teach them that we are only stewards of God given things, and that we must give account of every dollar that we wastefully spend, from which we and no one else receives any good. Cigarettes are one of these things.

13. Always take time to answer their well-meant questions with sincerity, because children are eager to learn, and what they learn while they are young, usually remains with them, whether it is good or evil.

14. Teach them to lay up treasure in heaven, and first, to seek the Kingdom of God, wholly trusting in God, then He will bless them without anxiety, but not without labor.

15. Teach them as young as possible to believe in Jesus as their Saviour and Redeemer, and tell them at Christmas, why we observe Christmas, thus making your home a Christian home, where Christian children may feel themselves at home. If a child can leave home and find a better home, with more spiritual environments, then something is lacking in his own home.

16. Read often to them from the Bible, and when they ask the meaning of it, then take time to explain the portion of Scripture read, and help them to receive knowledge as much as possible. In this the Lord will bless you with more knowledge yourself, and a blessing will rest on each member of the family.

17. Acquaint the children with our basic principles, and especially with the 18 articles of faith, which teach the true way of salvation in condensed form. And with the help of God live a life that conforms to the 18 articles of faith, and not to the 18 articles of corruptness let both you and your children go to ruin.

18. Your ministers are only humans, called of God to preach the holy Gospel, and are subject to error. Therefore do not tell of their weakness to your children, or else they will lose their confidence in them. Once their confidence is lost, much is lost. Pray for your ministers in the presence of your children, for we hope to build up our church with and through the oncoming generation. Let us therefore do as Joel writes, "Tell your children about it, and let your children tell their children, and those children another generation." Joel 1:3.

By God's grace, in this way, we hope to build up the good things of the Lord, that His Church may continue to grow, as long as the Lord tarries.

20. GRAVESIDE HYMN FOR CHILDREN

(Read by the minister at the graveside service of a child. Printed in *Ein Ordnungsbrief in Lawrence County, Pennsylvania. Im März 1955.* Tr. by Ilse Reist.)

Ob es schon sehr wehe tut So müssen wir's doch heissen gut, Wenn Gott uns unsere Kinder nimmt, Dieweil sie seine Erbin sind.	Even though it is very painful to us We must yet call it good When the Lord takes our children Because they are his heirs.
Sie sind auch selig in der Tot, Weil Jesus sie gesegnet hat Und zugesagt hat Gottes Reich, Sie werden dort den Engln gleich.	And indeed they are blessed Because Jesus has blessed them And has promised to them the Kingdom of God, There they will be like the angels.
Der Herr stellt sie zum Muster bar, Und sagt es seit den dass ihr gard Den kleinen Kindlein werdt gleich, Ihr gar nicht Kommt ins Himmelreich.	The Lord sets them up as an example. And he says: Unless you Become like little children, You will not enter the Kingdom of Heaven.
Ihr müsst erst umgekehrt sein, Und wie die Kindlein werden klein, Weil solchen nur die Seligkeit Verheissen in dem Reich der Freud.	You must turn about at first, And become like little children, Because to those only Bliss is promised in the kingdom of joy.
So lasset uns dann werden klein Und auch sanftmütig fromm und rein. Dieweil so grosse Herrlichkeit Den geistlich kleinen ist bereit.	Let us therefore become childlike, Likewise tentle, good and pure, Since such great glory Is waiting for those of childlike spirit.
Ihr Eltern wein't nicht allzusehr Weil es doch gar nichts helft mehr,	Don't weep so much, parents, Because this will no longer help you.

Denk't nun sind eure Kinderlein,	Remember that now your children
Befreit von aller Not und Pein.	Are freed from all pain and sorrow.
Denk't doch wie angenehm wird's sein,	Just think, how wonderful it will be
Wann ihr auch werden kommen heim,	When you too will come home
Zu euren Kindlein in der Stadt,	To your children to a city
Die glänzendens guild'ne Gassen hat.	That has shining golden streets.
Ja denket all d'ran ins gemein,	Yes, remember this, all of you,
Ihr Jungen, Alten, gross und klein,	Young and old, big and small,
Dass eurer End schnell kommt herbei,	That your end will come swiftly.
Wohl dem der dann bereitet sei.	Happy is he who will be prepared.

21. REPORT TO THE CONGREGATIONS [REGARDING THE SCHOOL LAW]

December 8, 1937

As representatives of the Old-Order Amish and the Old Mennonite congregations we want to report on what we have done so far. The compulsory school bill has been passed and has become a law. We heard that this law was passed in favor of the Union people. Therefore, we consider it a hindrance to our freedom of belief, and unconstitutional.

We have handed in a petition to our government officials bearing 3000 signatures. In this petition we have asked that our children be freed from compulsory school attendance beyond the grade school. As an alternative to this we have offered to continue to raise our children in the discipline and admonition of the Lord, and to teach them domestic and farm skills. We don't want to train them in "public work," since we don't believe that we should be working in public work situations in the big cities and thus take jobs away from the Labor Union people. The law was passed in order to keep the children out of employment so that the adults will have work. How can we assume that the children will be free to work on the farm and in households if they later work in "public work" and in the cities and take employment away from the Labor Union people?

And as far as the discipline of children is concerned, we should be more serious about it. Occasionally we get reports that our young people pass time in the towns in the evening and at other times, and that their conduct is disorderly. We think that parents should supervise their children more closely. Such proofs of disorderly conduct have a negative bearing on our school petition.

We learnt what happened to some Amish and Mennonites who had hired a lawyer to defend themselves before court. It turned into a big controversy and caused a lot of publicity all over the USA. They are watched much more closely now whether they live and act in accordance with their professed faith. We believe, that if it comes to the point of defense, we should defend ourselves with the Word and with our faith, and not with a lawyer.

We profess before God and men that we have been too much servants of the world in our conduct and witness. We wish that our congregations could unanimously and out of love to God separate themselves more from the world and draw closer to God.

We, who were appointed by the congregations to look into the school law question, have by now received help from various well-meaning and sympathetic people. We have studied, worked, counselled and prayed and came up with a petition to our government. We found out what others think about us when we don't stick to our beliefs. Some have encouraged us to hold on to our convictions. Since we men have done our part in this business, we now ask the congregations in love and good will to do theirs. For we believe that if the congregations can demonstrate what we have said—that we are found worthy, the Lord will find a solution. But if we continue to drift, we must fear that we will get much harder punishment.

This is meant for the best of all.

Approved by the representatives.
[Lancaster County, Pa.]

22. BACKGROUNDS AND STANDARDS OF THE OLD ORDER CHURCH SCHOOL COMMITTEE, 1937

Community Schools

Public education was originally founded in our land to protect religion and teach differing groups to live peaceable among one another.

The individual as a child of God,—so important to our ancestors, is the basis of both the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

It is our misfortune if this is no longer so.

If we expect to preserve the lasting truths of these great Documents for our children to enjoy, we need make certain that these same children become aware of the essential underlying concept of peace on earth and good will towards men.

We hope our government will be spared to grant what is laid down to be this shining symbol which is proclaimed to be a bulwark for the protection of religious convictions and free enterprise.

It is the duty of all to respect this heritage and those who have founded the original principles thereof.

The Lords prayer and reading from the Bible without comment in public schools has long since been universally practiced—interpretation is the duty of the home and the Church as Shepherds of the flock and should always be so upheld.

We wish to retain schools in our community within the principles as originally founded by our ancestors. It is our misfortune if this can be no longer so.

It is evident and confirmed by practice, that many and various religious persuasions—can live neighbourly with respect for each other, peaceably and quietly, and that countries where this is maintained have prospered and experienced the special blessings of God.

Petition Concerning the New School Law of 1937

After several committee meetings in the fall of 1937, the following petition was formed and signed by over 3,000 persons and presented to the various Department of Education, and Government leaders. Note replies in "Report of Committee" booklet.

"We, the undersigned, a religious country folk, pertaining to agriculture, do hereby certify that Conscientiously, we cannot send our Children unto the world's nurture and teachings until they are grown up.

"And do hereby petition the boards of public instruction to be lenient with a well-meaning people.

"If we are granted eight months' schooling in a year and the children are exempt when they get through the low grades, and let us have the one-room schoolhouses, and teach the truth, we can, with a free conscience, send our children to the public schools.

"We would be very thankful if the above would be granted."

Agree Upon Future Policy

Several conferences were held before finally a policy was agreed upon, as outlined in the booklet, "Vocation on the Farm." —Booklets available from the Amish Church Committee.

The "Vocation on the Farm" program shall be respected by all Amish Parents who are eligible to enroll their children. Parents who have religious convictions against higher education and have their children on the farm, recognized by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for agricultural purposes.

Conscientious Parents shall first of all decide if they wish to cooperate before they arrange to have their children enrolled in this Amish Church Sect Program. If good intentions fail, it is their duty to have their children enrolled in a regular day school.

Delinquency, after enrollment, shall be carried out by the same method. In such cases the Vocation Class Instructor shall report his troubles to the local Church

District Committeeman. If the matter cannot be solved, it shall be reported to the Chairman of the Church Sect Committee who, in turn, shall release the child's name from the Committee enrollment and responsibility.

In this we need to be firm but kind. We advise all Instructors and Committeemen to be fair and just.

Class Instructors shall work with the local Committeeman in charge, and he in turn with the general Committee. Close relationship shall be extended between Committeeman, Instructors and Parents.

Our way of life and examples need fit to our profession . . . a light to the world and salt of the earth. It would be a reflection towards those who take for "vocation on the farm" then when out of enrollment go for commercial jobs and modern housework. The farm vocation program needs be carried out in fairness as becometh a Christian people.

Excuse Cards

Excuse cards shall be filled out by Parent or Guardian for absence from class reports and reason given, and returned to the Instructor who in turn shall forward these with teacher reports to the Chairman of the Committee.

In respect for the privilege to have our children past the elementary grades exempt from further day school attendance, we ask that the three-hour vocation class report shall not be neglected.

It would be very unfair to those willing to cooperate if this privilege were discontinued because of lack of support of this program.

If you do not feel obliged to cooperate on a Vocation Class Report as asked for in good faith from the Amish people, kindly let us know so that we may adjust our records and reports accordingly.

Let us help each other. Let us pray for each other.

To Vocation Class Reporters

Do not give excessive lessons that occupy the child too much in book studies at home . . . this is mainly a project report.

German teachings (in this report class) are a privilege; instructors are advised not to include Sunday School lessons, nor induce the child to be Scripture-smart for religious show. Scripture teaches simplicity by examples. Do not beguile that which belongs to the Church and its leaders.

Encourage and put in ample time in "singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord" . . . "Serve the Lord with gladness: come before his presence with singing" (Ps. 102:2; Eph. 5:19).

Neat penmanship should be encouraged.

Report classes can be held, in parochial schools, providing cooperation will be extended with the vocation program. A room in a farm home is sufficient where schools are not available.

Have Parents interested in your work, ask them to take part in your class.

"For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office. So we being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another" (Rom. 12th Chapter).

Bewahre, das dir vertrauet ist.

Vocation on the Farm

A Statement of Principles of A Church Vocation in Agricultural Practice by the Old Order Amish Church of Pennsylvania to the Delegative School Committee of the Amish Churches in Pennsylvania, as a Form of Regulations approved by the said Committee and others in conference on August 8, 1956. Compiled by Aaron E. Beiler, Chairman of Committee, Gap. R. 1, Pa.

Introduction

The sole purpose of this declaration is to plead for all members of the Old Order Amish Mennonites, and others, in cooperation, to stand together in unity on a policy that has finally been worked out and recognized by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; a means for leave of absence from secondary schools for those fourteen (14) years of age who have met the equivalent requirements of the elementary grades in school, and whose Parents have religious convictions against higher education.

This policy shall be understood as a Church Sect program for agricultural training and practice at home on the farm and farm home—an agricultural vocation under home and Church supervision offered by the Attorney General in the Department of Justice in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, September 19, 1955. (Recognized and prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction, January 16, 1956, superseding a previous statement released September 22, 1955.)

Because the task of helping children through the teen years is such a vital one, we are searching for courage, wisdom and deepened insight, and hope with the words of our Redeemer in Luke 18th Chapter, "And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?"

Religious life and religious movements, especially all that profess to be Christian, must ever be subject to the test of simplicity and godly sincerity." (I Cor. 2:14)

Agriculture, A Religious Tenet, A Branch of Christian Duty

"Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken." Genesis 3:21.

"And let ours also learn to maintain good works for necessary uses, that they be not unfruitful." Titus 3:14.

"Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right."

"Honour thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise . . ."

"That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth."

"And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Eph. 6.

The on-the-job training in agricultural practice as ruled by the Attorney General for those 14 and passed the elementary grades in school, we trust will relieve the "Passive resistance" that some of our people have been obliged to endure in the past, that has caused concern in the welfare of our posterity . . . our religious way of life and teachings.

Juvenile responsibility, nurture and admonition according to Scripture, are paramount with and obligated to Parents and cannot be denied nor taken away without serious infringement and a violation of the Word of God.

We have reason to, and do appreciate this "redress of grievance" and hope we may continue to possess that noble inheritance of our ancestors and those who have founded a government to protect its minority and the convictions of its people who confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world.

These are the words of William Penn:

"You cannot but know how fallible Protestants acknowledge themselves to be in matters of religion, and, consequently with what caution they should proceed against any about religion. I love and honor all virtuous persons that differ with me, and hope God will have regard to every such one, according to his sincerity. And, however it shall please you to deal with us at this or any other time, I pray God to forgive you, open your eyes, tender your hearts, and make you sensible how much more moderation and virtue are worth your study and pursuit than the disturbance of religious dissenting assemblies, that, so far as I know of them, desire to honor the king, love their neighbors as themselves, and do unto all men as they would have all men do unto them. I do, for me and mine, declare and establish for the first fundamental of the government of my province, that every person that doeth and shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the free possession of his or her faith—and exercise of worship towards God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God. And so long as every such person useth not his Christian liberty to licentiousness or the destruction of others, that is to say, to speak loosely and profanely or contemptuously of God, Christ, the Holy Scriptures, or religion, or commit any moral evil or injury against others in their conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid Christian liberty by the civil magistrate."

(Passages from life of "William Penn," pages 127 and 242).

Our Lord and Master (in Mark 7) severely rebuked those who permit a child to deny the request of its parents "to do ought for his father or his mother."

"Religion, or the duty we owe to the Creator is not within the cognizance of civil government—the Constitution has definitely and completely excluded religion from the law's contemplation in considering men's rights. There can be no distinction based on religion." (92 N.E. reporter, page 252).

The State shall not assume jurisdiction in "denominational questions of religious faith or form of practice" (8 Philadelphia 507, 28 L. I. 126).

Delegative Committee

This is strictly an agricultural program to be carried out under the name of "A Church Organized Sect," which is to be responsible that agricultural practice is carried out at home on the farm.

"Vocational education shall mean any form of education of less than college grade, given in school or elsewhere, the purpose of which is to fit an individual to pursue effectively a recognized profitable employment, whether pursued for wages or otherwise."—Section 1801, Clause (2) Pennsylvania School Code.

A Delegative Committee of one member from each Church District of the Old Order Amish Congregation shall be responsible as a Director in the district where he resides.

These representatives should be appointed either by the Church or the Delegative Committee, or both, as most convenient for the benefit of both and shall represent between the various individual Amish districts and the School Committee as a body which was first organized on September 14, 1937 (at the home of Stephen F. Stoltzfus) for the purpose of making the views of the Amish Churches known and to see what can be done relative to exemption from various new school laws in conflict with our way of life and belief.

Various petitions were then presented to our men in authority (our servants and we their subjects) asking permission to have exemption for those fourteen years of age and passed the elementary grades in school from secondary education for service on the farm and in the farm home.

In the next regular session of Legislature, provisions were granted and the Department of Public Instruction assured the exemption we asked to retain.

The Delegative Committee, however, at various times in the past, has met with problems through separate rulings from that of the intent of the People's legislators and Constitutional rights that have caused grief and serious consideration.

Finally, through the efforts of those who have laid a plan, a Church agricultural home vocation program on the farm has been legally recognized as a solution to the attendance problem.

The vocational plan, as outlined by the Department of Justice, that we have qualified men of our own to supervise and see that our children 14 and passed the elementary grades in school are at home on the farm in actual agricultural practice, and every so often instruct them in a class, we trust will be appreciated by all who have religious convictions toward secondary education.

Delegate's and Instructor's Duties

No Delegate, or Instructor, shall, on his own, refrain from doing the duties herein compiled, nor shall an individual Member or group function in the name or by pretense act as a Member, in order to carry away that which is self-inclined or partial, separate from the Committee as a body.

No Committeeman shall perform other than with approval of the Committee on matters that pertain to counsel and debate.

Cooperation is indeed important. "With good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men." Eph 5. "That ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called." Eph. 4.

It is the duty of each Church Representative to see that the vocational plan is properly carried out in agricultural practice in the district where he resides and help the class instructor, if other than himself, in class reports and records from the child's diary for Committee record and file. This, together with monthly enrollments, is to be forwarded to the Chairman of the Committee for his records which shall be open for inspection to those authorized to do so. The weekly reports can be sent in once a month with the monthly report.

Where a vacancy occurs of a Chairman or a Treasurer, it is the duty of the Committee to reappoint a Member from the Committee as such by vote of each Committeeman on slips of paper to be counted for the majority.

An annual committee meeting is to be held every second Wednesday in August at 8 o'clock, Standard Time.

There is no privilege within the agreement of this policy for these children to be at leisure in idleness. It is the duty of Parents or Guardians to have the child occupied at home on the farm during the hours the public schools are in session.

Section 1332 of the school law requires the teacher in non-public schools to give to the public school officials, the names of pupils who violate the compulsory school attendance law.

All matters concerning the Church vocational program shall be carried out in fairness and honesty as becometh a Christian people.

No individual or group of non-Amish shall function in the name of the Old Order Amish Congregation other than by application and agreement with the spokesmen of the Amish Church Organized Committee who is directed by the Department of Justice to be responsible for such consideration.

Since this home vocation plan is granted to nurture and admonish our children "to learn to maintain good works for necessary uses that they be not unfruitful"—"with good will doing service, as to the Lord" (Titus 3:14, Eph. 6), it is very important that Parents or Guardians recognize this program as such, and respect the opportunity to be released from secondary education.

"The State is not, and under our Constitution cannot be, a teacher of religion—Religion is taught, and shall be taught, in our Churches, parochial and other Church schools and religious meetings. Parents should teach it to their children at home, where its truths can be most effectively enforced." (A Court decision—pages 252-255-256—Book 92, N. E. Reporter).

Non-compliance with these methods may forfeit the opportunity to continue enrollment separate from the public schools and its jurisdiction.

It would be very unfair and dishonest to enroll in this Church Organized Program and then take up outside jobs that require special permission from the State. Such deviation is not evidence of good faith and shall not be tolerated.

Attendance and Records

The State wants the children coming within the confines of this class report to be carried on the roll of a Church operated school as otherwise the child would not be separate from the State. It is merely a choice of privilege to be on the roll of a Church Organized Class or under the curriculum of the State.

Records from the child's diary shall be kept on file by the teacher. A weekly progress report, together with a monthly enrollment sheet, shall be sent to the Chairman of the Education Committee at the end of each month for his files, who is to be responsible that the vocation plans are properly carried out and shall have a record on file for those authorized to investigate.

Diary records are very important. It is good education for the child to write from his diary into the teacher report files just what his home vocation consisted of during the week.

Copies of forms for class and enrollment reports shall be similar to those presented to us by an official representing the State at a special Committee meeting on February 7, 1956.

Excuse cards shall be filled out to give reason of absence and sent in with class and enrollment reports.

It is quite an undertaking for a private teacher to accept the responsibility of instructing other people children. This requires cooperation between Parents and Teacher and is the duty of Parents to be concerned in the conduct of their children, and should frequently visit the class where their children report. The task is much easier where cooperation and good will are exercised among all involved.

Let's hope that good will and worthwhile benefits will be experienced through the prayers and cooperation of those concerned in the welfare of their posterity and the environments wherein youth are growing up in these trying times and those of perilous conditions before the end.

> "Noch ein ding kann ich nicht verheelen,
> Was mir noch an dem herzen liegt!
> Es sind die zarten jungen seelen,
> Der'r kann ich so vergessen nicht."

"The End"

At a special meeting on December 29, 1937, it was considered and resolved that separate parties approaching officials is a hindrance to the appointed School Delegation for this work and needs be discontinued.

Committeemen shall represent their local district and bring before the Committee matters that need be counseled and mediated.

We beg that each Amish Church district furnish a Committeeman in their respective district to cooperate as a Representative with the School Committee.

If for some reason a Committeeman is unable to continue his duties and especially attend the yearly committee meetings, it should be made known so to arrange to have someone take his place.

Old Order Amish Church Sect schools, established within the framework of historic principle, a non-public, non-private, eleemosynary elementary unit needs to be operated on a program without profit for the benefits of Parents and children consistent with Christian duties.

Each district a separate unit, self governing its own Trustees (or Directors) and the Church District Committeeman a representative. Officials have been informed that this is a very important point. It corresponds with our churches. A Deputy from the Department of Justice in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has advised that if ours is a Church supported school . . . the State has nothing to do with it.

Amish day-school shall coincide with Old Order Amish simplicity and way of life, teachers shall be modest and plain.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the responsibility to nurture, admonish, train and care are the duties of Parents and Ministers as Shepherds of the flock.

Menno Simons preached strict discipline, as necessary to maintain the purity of the Church.

—Childhood—"The period from infancy to puberty."

Puberty—"The time a plant comes into flower."

Pupil—"A boy or girl under the age of puberty (14 and 12 years respectively)."

"Lasz unsere Gemeinde hier auf Erden durch uns, unsere Kinder und nachkommenschaft erhalten und vermehrt werden, auf dasz wir mit ihnen in dienem ewigen Himmelreich, mit der Schaar, die neimand Zahlen Konnte und die Palmen in ihren Handen trugen, dich loben mogen; ja, das neue Lied mit freuden singen zum Lobe deines heiligen Namens, in Jesu heiligen Namen. Amen."

These are the words of Pre. Stephen F. Stoltzfus (First chairman of the Amish Church School Committee), Bird-in-Hand, R. 1, Pa.:

"Es soll uns neimand von diesam grund oder fundamend abwenden"—lasz unsern Beruf glicklich fortgehen and wehre allen denen so ihn hiddern wollen.

"Lasz unsere Werke gesegnet und zu deines namens Ehre und zum Nutzen unsers Nachten gereichen; Mache uns zu Werkzengen deiner Gnade."

Amendments

The Amish Church School Committee or Delegation was established in 1937 through the advise of the leaders of the Old Order Amish Church of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

In 1940 council was taken through the Church and a plea was signed by the Minister of the Church Districts and the Members of the Committee.

In 1961 "Backgrounds and Standards" of the overall Committee work was re-affirmed as a matter of basic principal and policy as established, (a representative body in Amish school work).

In 1964 several Amish Bishops appointed a seven member council group to mediate and eliminate truancy and separateness between Amish school and the Church school Committee.

August 11, 1965, at the annual School Committee Meeting, Old Order Amish School Directors were recognized a united body with the Amish Church School Committee.

More details on school matters of the early years and the current times are available from Aaron E. Beiler, Gap, R. 1, Pennsylvania.

23. POLICY FOR OPERATION OF HOME AND FARM PROJECTS IN CHURCH-ORGANIZED DAY SCHOOLS

(Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction, News Release, October 5, 1955.)

Dr. Ralph C. Swan, Acting Superintendent of Public Instruction, today released a policy for the operation of day schools by church-organized sects offering a school work program to pupils who have completed the eighth grade in school and are fourteen or more years of age.

The Department of Public Instruction was advised by the Department of Justice in establishing this policy.

The detailed requirements for operation of such schools follow—

1. Every child of compulsory school age is required to attend a day school in which the subjects and activities prescribed by the State Council of Education are taught in the English language. Children of compulsory school age are required to attend such day school continuously through the entire term during which the public schools shall be in session. (Based on Section 1327, Pennsylvania School Laws.)

2. Principals and teachers in nonpublic schools must supply the following information promptly to the public school officials in the school district of the child's residence: (a) the name of every pupil admitted; (b) the name of any pupil of compulsory school age who withdraws from such nonpublic school; and (c) the name of any pupil who violates the compulsory school attendance law. (Based on Section 1332, Pennsylvania School Laws.)

3. Public buildings must meet the provisions of the Fire Panic Act; administered through the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry. (Fire Panic Act)

4. Evidence that the school is operated under the auspices of an organized religious sect must be submitted to the Chief of the Division of Private Academic School Registration, in the Department of Public Instruction, so that the fact that no licensing is necessary can be assured.

5. It is desirable in the interest of health to secure approval of health and sanitation requirements from the State Department of Health.

6. The offerings in such schools shall include English, mathematics, health and social studies, supplemented by home projects in agriculture and homemaking. (Based on Section 1327, Pennsylvania School Laws, giving powers to State Council of Education.)

7. The time the pupil spends in school must in no case be less than a minimum of three hours per week, supplemented by remaining school time spent on farm or home work projects. Throughout the entire school year the pupil should average fifteen hours a week in school. In other words, during the course of not less than 180 days of a school year, the pupil averages half of the school time in directed projects on the farm or in the home.

8. Teachers in such private schools must keep attendance and scholarship records for all pupils in the school work program. These records must be kept up to date so that local public school officials, persons from the office of the county superintendent of schools, or representatives of the Department of Public Instruction may ascertain at any time that the requirements of the law are being met.

9. The teacher will supply promptly to the public school official information relating to enrollment, attendance and withdrawal of pupils. (Based on Section 1332, Pennsylvania School Laws.)

10. The teacher or principal in such school will visit the farm or home periodically and confer with both the pupil and the parent relative to the pupils' obtaining the maximum educational value from the home project.

11. Parents must supply the homeroom teacher or principal of such private school with the attendance record of any pupil at such time as he is working on a project in the home or on the farm since the parents will assist in the teaching in connection with the farm work and homemaking.

The parent will follow the advice of the principal or teacher who visits the farm or the home to assist in supervising the projects.

The parent must give the teacher recommendations relative to the quality of the work accomplished.

24. MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR AMISH SCHOOLS [OHIO]

(*Minimum Standards for the Amish Parochial or Private Elementary Schools of the State of Ohio as a Form of Regulations* (Apple Creek: compiled and approved by bishops, committeemen and others in conference, Henry J. Hershberger, Chairman [c. 1958]).)

Foreword

The question of an adequate education is a much discussed subject in recent years. There is a wide disagreement among educators, school officials, and common citizens on what actually constitutes sufficient education for a child.

However, very few can deny that if the child has received the instruction that will enable it to earn as honest living and lead a Christian life, then that child has been "adequately" educated. The Amish schools of Ohio have been set up with that principle as their objective.

Any person even remotely acquainted with the Amish sect knows that their way of living differs greatly from others. It is one of the oldest religious groups in the United States, and their forefathers came to these shores several centuries ago to seek religious liberty which was denied them in Europe. Tradition to them is a sacred trust, and it is a part of their religion to uphold and adhere to the ideals of their forefathers.

To maintain these principles in the future is of vital importance to the Amish. This has been the overriding reason for the establishment of the Amish schools in the United States during the last decade. As public school instruction moves into the fields of "modern progressive education" i.e., audio-visual training, sex education, etc., so is the need for an educational program that is apart from the public school system and based on the words of Paul: "And be not conformed to the world, etc." (Romans 12:2.)

Obviously then, if a separate system of instruction is required, so also is there a need for separate standards. No school, public, private or parochial, can operate efficiently without standards to serve as guideposts along their respective pathways of learning. It is the purpose of this statement of policy and standards to present, in plain form, an outline of the character of Amish private schools of Ohio and their curriculum.

It is also the fervent hope of the Amish school officials, that if these standards are followed to the best of the ability of parents, teachers, and school authorities and if ways are constantly sought to improve upon them as stated in Standard 1, the words of Solomon may ring true. "Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it." (Proverbs 22:6.)

Introduction

The following is a list of standards applying to the Amish private and parochial schools of the state of Ohio. These standards have been approved by the members of the boards of education of these schools, and by the bishops and church leaders of the districts wherein these schools have been established.

The terms "sufficient," "adequate," and "proper education" used in these standards shall be the interpretation of the authorities of the Amish school system.

Standard 1 Needs, Methods and Objectives

The goal of the school shall be to prepare the child for the Amish way of living and the responsibility of adulthood. In short, these standards are designed in an effort to establish the foundations of a society of useful, God-fearing, and law-abiding citizens. It is recognized that these standards are not inflexible, and as conditions warrant, these standards may be changed, modified, or supplemented, if so required to meet the aforementioned goal. This shall be done only by the proper authorities of the Amish private schools and within the scope of the Amish school principles.

Standard 2 The School District

(a) *The School District* shall include the area within a radius of a distance of the school building where it is possible to establish a creditable attendance record without relying on tax-supported means of transportation.

(b) *Ownership of School.* The school shall be the property of, and sponsored by the church or its respective district.

(c) *Eligibility of Attendance.* All children living within the school district shall be eligible to admittance provided the parents are willing to co-operate with the teacher and school officials in securing for it an adequate education. No child shall be refused admittance because of the inability of parents or guardian to pay tuition expenses. In such cases church and school authorities shall investigate and take proper action.

Standard 3 Administration of School

(a) Each school district shall be administered by a school board composed of five (5) or three (3) members. This board may include the clerk of the board and have equal board status. If preferred, clerk may be a non-board member and shall have no voting power. In either case, the clerk's duties shall be to record business transactions as enacted by the board. The records shall be open to inspection at all times.

(b) The length of the board member's term is optional and decided on by each district. Eligible voters for school offices shall be the members of the church of the respective school district.

(c) The duties of the school boards shall be the hiring of teachers, maintenance of school buildings, administration of funds, purchasing of any material and supplies used by the school.

(d) It is recommended that school boards shall hold meetings at regular intervals, preferably monthly.

(e) There shall be a superintendent elected by the school boards, who shall act as an advisor for the Amish parochial schools.

(f) Each school district shall appoint or elect an attendance officer who is responsible to report attendance records to the school board of the respective district.

Standard 4 Teachers: Qualifications and Duties

It is recognized that the teacher is the hub on which the entire school revolves. Therefore it is highly essential great care and good judgement is exercised in selecting teachers. Realizing that the school teacher is very influential in molding the life of a child, it is of great importance that the teacher possess, first of all, good Christian character. Equal in importance is good educational background and a desire to further improve that education. Specifically the education shall consist of an eighth grade elementary education. Other characteristics a teacher should possess are: the ability to "get along" with children, willingness to co-operate with parents and school board, and a sincere attachment to the teaching profession.

Standard 5 Discipline

It is recommended that the teacher's attitude shall be one favoring strict discipline. No school can be successful if discipline is lax. The teacher shall have the authority to discipline a child as seen fit. This shall be done, not in a spirit of vengeance, but one of love and understanding. In case a pupil becomes unruly to the extent that the teacher is not able to control it and becomes a menace to the welfare of the school, the board of education shall take prompt action for correction of said problem.

Standard 6 Attendance

(a) The school term shall number a minimum of 160 days open for class instruction.

(b) The school day shall have a minimum of five hours classroom study.

(c) The teacher shall submit monthly attendance reports to the proper authorities.

(d) A child may enter its first year of learning at the age of six or within sixty days of its sixth birthday, and shall be excused from further elementary classroom education upon the completion of the eighth grade.

(e) Excuse from attending school instruction as provided in part D of Standard 6 shall be granted only by illness, death in family, or other similar emergencies. Habitual school absence for manual labor shall not be considered a legitimate excuse for non-attendance.

(f) A written excuse signed by the parent or guardian shall accompany any absence.

(g) The enforcement of attendance is the responsibility of the board of education of the respective school district. No unnecessary absence shall be tolerated.

(h) Habitual tardiness shall not be tolerated.

Standard 7 The Education Program

The graded course of study shall consist of the following subjects:

(a) The language arts including reading, writing, spelling and English.

(b) Mathematics.

(c) Geography and History.

(d) Health and safety rules.

(e) German writing, reading and spelling.

(f) Vocal music.

(g) The English language should be spoken at all times by the teacher and pupils while school is in session, except in German classes.

Other Standards Pending

Consideration and Recommendation

1. Where possible, the maximum number of pupils shall not exceed thirth-five.

2. The school building and premises shall be kept in good repair, neat and sanitary.

3. Every effort shall be made to promote and maintain good relations between the public authorities and those of the private schools. In case where pupils may transfer from private to public schools or vice versa, notice should be given where necessary for continued attendance.

4. Authorities of the Amish private schools shall at all times co-operate with the public officials in cases of truancy and any other case where its religious beliefs and not infringed on.

Interpretative and Explanatory Material for The Standards of the Amish Private and Parochial Schools of Ohio

Standard 1 Needs, Methods and Objectives

Standard 2 The School District

(a) *The School District* as defined in Standard 2 embraces what may best be described as the area within a radius a reasonable walking distance of the school. Where the distance is greater, and other means of transportation is used, the problem of transportation rests with the parents.

(b) *Ownership of School;*

(c) *Eligibility of Attendance.*

Standard 3 Administration of School

(a) It is recommended that in a school district where twelve or more families are represented, a board of five members is required. In smaller districts three would be sufficient.

(b) The school board member should be willing to sacrifice personal gain to work for the good of the school. He should be receptive to advice and take suggestions from the teacher and parents, and be on the alert at all times to seek improvements in the school system.

(c) A teacher must have the proper equipment to do the job right. A sufficient supply of good workbooks and a duplicator are very essential to good teaching. To avoid accepting unsuitable teachers, they should be hired at the earliest date possible.

(d) The school board has the sole authority, in the financing of the school. The school funds should be used wisely and to the best advantage, and no transaction in funds should be made without the knowledge of the entire board, except in certain cases.

It is also the function of the school board to set the tuition fee, levy or assess additional school taxes as the conditions may require.

The monthly meeting shall be open to the parents, and they should always feel free to attend these meetings and express their grievances.

(e) It is the duty of the superintendent to consult with the school boards and teachers, and search for the best books available and suitable for the Amish parochial schools. He should also supply all necessary report papers required by the State.

Standard 4 Teachers Qualifications and Duties

(a) This subject is described in detail and incorporated in the standards. However, other suggestions may be helpful. It is the opinion of Amish school officials that a teacher should have natural talent, and be able to teach, with no other obligations to interfere with teaching.

(b) The term, "an eighth grade education" in this standard, Part (a), will bear further explanation. A teacher would be well advised to use the vacation period as an opportune time to give further study to the subjects included in the graded course of study of the school. While the formal education of a teacher need not be carried further than the eighth grade, a self-imposed course of research in the school's accepted subjects is necessary to provide and maintain that "margin of knowledge."

(c) There shall be regular tests to enable the teacher to determine the progress of the pupils. These records should be on file at the school.

Standard 5 Discipline

(a) No teacher, regardless of his or her other qualifications can be considered a successful teacher if discipline is lacking and the school allowed to become disorderly. Therefore, the saying of Solomon, "Spare the rod, and spoil the child," should apply to all teachers.

Standard 6 Attendance

(e) The term "illness" in this paragraph shall not be confused with a long-term sickness where a doctor's certificate is required. Under these circumstances it may be necessary for the teacher or parents to provide home instruction if possible.

(g) The average attendance percentage may be expected to be from 90% to 95% unless an epidemic invades a school. Any figure lower than 90% should be cause for concern and investigation. Poor attendance imposes a hardship on both the teacher and the pupil.

(h) The same may be said on tardiness and it should be emphasized that manual labor at home should never interfere with the school studies of the pupil.

Standard 7 The Education Program

(a) In this category are placed in order: reading, writing, spelling and English. Reading is recognized as one of the most important subjects in our schools today, and should be stressed as such in our private schools. Phonics should be used as an aid to the young child, and ability to pronounce words should be continued through the first grades. Writing and spelling are also very important, and these three subjects should be a daily requirement. English is recommended as a requirement from grades four through eight.

(b) Mathematics: There is no subject that the child of the Amish schools will use more extensively in adult years than this one. The first steps, addition and subtraction, must be learned in the early years, followed by multiplication and division, and in the upper grades, measurements and dimensions. These subjects shall be stressed daily and to the full extent from grade one through eight.

(c) No parents or guardians shall be obligated to have their children taught the elements in these subjects that are conscientiously opposed.

Other Standards Pending

Consideration and Recommendations

The figure (35) is not a hard and fast one. There are cases where at least temporarily, pupils may exceed that number. But it is important to recognize the importance of not overburdening the teacher with more pupils than can be adequately instructed.

Pupils of the seventh or eighth grades who have good marks can be of great help to the teacher by assisting with the lower grades or other work which they are capable of doing. This serves a twofold purpose: It may also serve as experience for future teachers.

25. ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT REGARDING THE INDIANA AMISH PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS AND DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION (1967)

The Amish Bishops, Ministers, School Authorities and brethren in order to secure a more profitable and enjoyable life for their children and the youth of future generations have pledged their support to a better educational program for the members of their faith. In order to carry out this pledge, the brethren agree to the following articles of education.

(a) Appoint a 3 to 5 member local school board to take care of local school affairs. The local school board will work co-operatively with the State Executive Committee in all major matters. Where co-operative schools or departments have been organized by co-operative school organizations, the executive committee of said co-operative schools shall have and exercise all of the authority of the board in the management of the school.

(b) The State Executive Committee and the local school boards agree to use school house construction plans which have been approved by the Department of Public Instruction, and Administrative Building Council, and the State Fire Marshall's Office, under existing state law.

The original copy of each schoolhouse construction plan must be supplied to the Department of Public Instruction by the State Executive Committee. The Department of Public Instruction will maintain a file of all approved plans for use in schoolhouse construction and will furnish copies of said plans to all local school boards.

Sanitary systems for water supply and sewage disposal must be maintained in accordance with the rules and regulations of the State Board of Health Bulletin S.E. 11, S.E. 13, where applicable.

An agreed upon amount should be paid on the new school building by the Amish Churches of Indiana through the State Executive Committee to participating districts. The treasury will be maintained by donations and distributed percentwise as available.

(c) The state Executive Committee will publish each year a school calendar of 167 actual school days between August 15 and May 15. Ninety-seven per cent of the pupils must be in attendance each school day. If the average daily attendance for the school year falls below 97% of the enrolled students, the school will be in session additional days to attain a 97% average. In the event any pupil proves to be a chronic absentee or incorrigible or otherwise irresponsible, said pupil must be reported by his teacher, supervisor or by any supervising parent, to his local Amish School Board. The Board must consider his or her case and for good cause shown, expel said student from said Amish School and said pupil will then be subject to attendance in a public school and to the authority of the public school. A school may be closed a maximum of five days for bad weather. The school day will be determined by local boards of education, but consist of no less than five hours actual class time. Short periods of recess are permissable in both the morning and afternoon sessions.

(d) Each school board will submit to the chairman of the State Executive Committee, before the end of the second week of the school year, an official enrollment of the school.

(e) Each school board should use uniform report cards that are furnished by the State Executive Committee, one for the elementary division and one for the vocational division.

(f) Each school must maintain a cumulative record for each pupil to be maintained by the teacher and filed at the school house as a permanent record.

(g) A teacher of the Amish faith, if possible, will be employed. The teacher will have passed the eighth grade satisfactorily and will make a passing score on a General Educational Development High School Equivalency Test or on a standardized 12th grade achievement test furnished, administered, and graded by the State Department of Public Instruction. The teacher must possess a good Christian character, the teacher must be capable of getting along with children and be able to reason with their parents. The instructor must be willing to work with the school authorities, as the teacher is an important factor directing the child's future life. The teacher may be hired as a probationary teacher or substitute teacher for two school years and if the teacher proves to be satisfactory, they will receive a license from the local parochial school board and countersigned by the Chairman of the Executive Committee. Instructors must satisfy the Amish School Board or Executive Committee where co-operative schools exist.

(h) Instruction at each grade level will include the fundamentals of basic education. Two semesters instruction, in the English language, must be taught each year in reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. A minimum of one semester instruction, in the English language, must be taught each year in geography and history. German may also be taught, at the option of the local school board. A recommended list of textbooks will be published by the State Executive Committee for all subject areas, specifically including texts for the teaching of the English language.

(i) After satisfactorily passing the eighth grade, each pupil must take a course in the vocational division that is organized for both boys and girls. The pupil must remain in the vocational division until the age of 16.

Vocational Plan

(a) No pupil shall be admitted who is under fourteen or over sixteen years of age or who has not completed the eighth grade requirement for public schools, or who has not attended said Amish Parochial Schools, except by authority of said school board.

(b) The vocational instructor will have the same qualifications as the teacher of the elementary classes and have had experience in the vocational area.

(c) Instructors will make a monthly report to the Amish School Board. Such reports should include attendance, application and co-operation of students and parents or guardian, and specify serious problems. Such reports together with monthly enrollments shall be open for inspection to public officers or authorities having any legal right of supervision or control over schools in the state.

(d) Pupils must strive to be clean and neat, courteous and mannerly.

(e) Writing, spelling, and English grades may be taken from reports, themes, and other written lessons.

(f) The student shall be in school at least one day per week, five hours per day during the regular school year. During this time, the students will study and discuss their projects and receive guidance and instruction from the teacher concerning the various projects. At least one day per week the students will have classes in history, general business, basic mathematics, English and spelling. Pupils must work a minimum of four hours per day on their project when not in school. Students must study at least one hour per day on assigned lessons during school hours. Students must be actively engaged in one or more projects throughout the school year. Pupils may work on more than one project daily. Pupils are required to be at home or elsewhere occupied in a vocational project during all of the regular school day.

Vocational Projects

Students will carefully plan, carry out and report on each project for which credit is given. Planning will include such factors as a statement of the nature of the project, the purposes, procedures, time involved, materials and financial resources required.

Services outside the home may be classified as projects only when done in co-operation with neighbors and by consent of parents and the instructor.

The carrying out of the project will be supervised by the vocational teacher. Daily chores and other routine household duties will *not* be considered as part of a vocational project, except where they are a necessary part of a project.

The project must be carefully reported by the student. A daily account will be kept by the student, and a weekly summary report will be made to the vocational teacher. A final report will include a total evaluation of project. Factors of cost, profit, and other financial matters will be included. The success or failure will be analyzed for the purpose of determining the value of the project. Students will report errors and recommend how the project procedures might be changed. Pupils should be concise and explicit. They must write plainly, using statements directly applicable to each specific project. Parents or guardian must sign all reports turned in by the pupil.

The State Superintendent of Public Instruction in co-operation with the State Executive Committee will publish a list of recommended projects and distribute sample copies and materials for use by the Amish schools. If a student should desire to work on a project not listed, it should be discussed with and approved by the instructor.

General project areas will include studies in one or more of the following:

(1) livestock and poultry

(2) fruits and vegetables

(3) grains

(4) tools and equipment

(5) building construction and maintenance

(6) farm finances and management

(7) carpentry

(8) landscaping and horticulture

(9) homemaking

(10) gardening

Summary Agreement

The Executive Committee in council with the brethren will have the authority to make recommendations for the betterment of Amish Parochial Schools.

In the event a school fails to uphold the provisions of this agreement, the State Executive Committee will notify such local board and if no response has been received within 30 days, the chairman of the State Executive Committee shall call a meeting of the council of the brethren for appropriate action.

The State Executive Committee and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction may meet to evaluate, revise, and improve Amish School Standards as set forth in this plan upon request of either party of this agreement.

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26. HOW NOT TO SPANK YOUR CHILD, 1963

(Joseph Stoll, *Blackboard Bulletin*, 1963.)

Do Not Spank When Angry. Anger begets anger; respect begets respect. Immediately preceding the well-known words in Ephesians 6, "Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," are the words, "Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath."

Do Not Spank With Words Only. Have you the common weakness to keep repeating, "If you don't behave right now, I'm going to spank you?" The child rarely behaves right now, simply because the spanking rarely materializes.

Do Not Do Bodily Harm. Be careful that you do not injure your child. Your palm may be heavier than you think. If a strap or switch is used, make sure it is not too light to be effective, nor too heavy to be safe.

Do Not Use The Strap Unnecessarily. It definitely is not true that if one spanking will make a good boy, two will make him a better one. Used too frequently, the rod becomes a part of routine.

Do Not Spank a Baby before he is old enough to understand what it is all about. If an older child really needs a spanking, he will know what it is all about without being told.

Do Not Forget to Respect the Child. The child is an individual. A child should feel respect for his parents, not fear. There have been cases where children have cringed at the slightest word of command from their parents. This is neither desirable, nor Christian.

Finally, the spanking is for the child's benefit, not your own. Discharge any excess steam elsewhere, where it will do no one any harm.

27. EDUCATION, A GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY, 1963

(David Wagler, *Blackboard Bulletin*, January 1963.)

The world today has gone overboard for education. The better-paying jobs in private and public institutions require a college education. It has been said that even the position of floor sweeper in many factories requires a high school diploma. Even the Mennonite Church is putting much emphasis on higher learning, and practically all their leaders and ministers are college graduates. Their church colleges were founded with the aim of providing a higher education for their young people without exposing them to the temptations of worldliness found in other colleges. Unfortunately, they have not been altogether successful, as it appears that the church colleges have played a leading role in bringing in the worldliness found in the church today.

The kind of education we should be concerned about is exemplified in the children of the persecution. In *Martyrs' Mirror* we read of a conversation in the year 1569 between a Catholic monk and an Anabaptist named Jacob De Roore, who was later burned at the stake for refusing to give up his faith.

"Before you are rebaptized," said the monk, "you can't tell A from B. But as soon as you are baptized you can read and write. If the devil does not have a hand in this, I do not understand anything about you people."

"I can hear you do not understand our way of living," replied Jacob, "for you ascribe to Satan the grace which God grants our simple converts when we *with all diligence* teach them to read and write."

The reason these persecuted Christians learned to read and write was so they could understand the Bible, admonish one another, and so they could spread the Gospel. The teachers were men well-grounded in the faith, who lost no opportunity to make fitting applications of spiritual truths while the pupils were learning the letters.

About one hundred years ago the state took over the responsibility of furnishing an education, not only for its own children, but also for the children of the church. Public schools came into being and attendance was compulsory. At first most of the teachers were fundamentally sound and afforded a certain amount of religious training. Textbooks were of the solid kind that taught good morals and a deep respect for religion.

As the years went by, these conditions gradually changed. A college education became essential for the teacher, and as the colleges deteriorated, so did the teachers. Textbooks became filled with foolishness, the one-room country school with its personal touch gave way to the consolidated elementary and high schools with additional unfavorable elements. During the tender years of childhood, our children were allowed to receive their education and instruction in worldly schools from worldly teachers, yet it was expected that they should suffer no harm.

Fortunately, the last decade has seen an awakening in many communities. Responsible leaders, ministers, and church-members have come to realize that if spiritual welfare is more important than material gains, we must be willing to spend time and money for training our youth instead of leaving this to the world.

This has been neglected so long that the change requires a certain amount of travail. This comes from inexperience, and from opposition from within and without. It would have been easier by far to keep our schools than to reestablish them after so long. It is our responsibility to rebuild upon the foundation of our Christian forefathers for the welfare of the church. We should do away with the attitude that our children go to school because they have to put in a certain number of hours. We must seize this golden opportunity to implant knowledge which will be beneficial to our children for a lifetime not only in a material sense, but in a spiritual as well.

Although the United States Constitution guarantees religious freedom, it hardly befits us as peace-loving and nonresistant people to take the law in our own hands and attempt to enforce our demands. Far better to avoid conflict wherever possible; and in the things we can do with a clear conscience we should go the second mile, and be thankful for what we do have.

The state usually has a minimum standard regarding the school buildings and facilities, the teacher, the textbooks, and the length of time the pupils are in school. If we make an honest effort to satisfy the authorities, we should ordinarily not meet with any difficulties.

Some people feel that we can obtain a sympathetic government by voting the right man into office. But according to ancient writings, the early Christians were not interested in politics. The Bible tells us that prayer changes things, and the prophet Daniel said, "Blessed be the name of God. He removest kings and settest up kings" Daniel 2:21. Solomon says, "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of waters. He turneth it wheresoever He will" Proverbs 21:1.

Like anything else worthwhile, if we wish to get the most out of school, we have to give it our best. It is worth a lot if parents take an interest in what their children are doing, and encourage them to learn, not only the lessons, but also to get along with each other and the teacher.

28. THE CHALLENGE BEFORE US, 1964

(John M. Bontrager, Shipshewana, Indiana. In *Blackboard Bulletin*, August 1964.)

This part of northern Indiana has passed a milestone. The public school corporation is wanting to build a modern school, costing over a million dollars. In their view, they are being forced by State legislation. The State is closing the five remaining one-room schools, and of course will approve nothing short of the most modern in buildings and facilities.

The cost is inconceivable to us, over $2500 per pupil in building costs alone. We can build a one-room school house for thirty-five pupils for $3000, if the labor is donated.

At least 50% of the pupils under the Westview School Corporation are Amish. Now, as we understand it, we can have our own schools if we wish. What, then, should be our course of action?

If we don't do something for ourselves, they will do it for us, and in as modern a way as we will tolerate. Are we going to stand idly by and be sucked down the stream of worldliness? Are we going to let our Amish way-of-life, our simple and Biblical standards, vanish in thin air before our eyes? The faith our forefathers brought across the waters and suffered untold hardships for—don't we want to preserve it for our children?

One of the greatest advantages of our own school system is to have our own qualified Christian teachers. Our children will be learning Christian morals inbetween lines while getting their secular education. What we see, what we hear, what we read, what we are surrounded by—these things influence us. It is our duty as parents to see that our children are under a good influence. If we are united in our interests and efforts, we have a wonderful opportunity with our own schools.

Then this thought has been brought up. "Will our schools end up as some Mennonite schools have? Conforming more and more to the ways of the public schools until we wonder where is the difference?" That all depends on us. If we stay in the will and ways of the Lord, He will help us keep our schools in all simplicity and lowliness. That is the only way we want them.

29. THE SUPREME COURT RULING, 1963

(Editorial by Joseph Stoll, *Blackboard Bulletin*, September 1963.)

On June 17, 1963, the Supreme Court of the United States of America ruled that the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in the opening exercise of a public school is unconstitutional. As a "religioug ceremony," such a recitation would come under the First Amendment to the Constitution which forbids "establishment" of religion.

We certainly do not wish to pass judgment on the motives of the members of the Supreme Court. Be we do wonder if they were not overly influenced by atheistic groups who have long been putting on the pressure to have the name of God banned entirely. We fear too many people in our world today *are not as interested in FREEDOM OF RELIGION as they are in FREEDOM FROM RELIGION!*

For instance, California's attorney-general, Stanley Mosk, has ruled that teaching the Darwinian theory of evolution in public schools does not violate Constitutional guarantees of religious freedom.

What is our reaction to this issue? Let us view it first of all in the light of history. We do not want to forget that our spiritual forefathers, the Anabaptists, in the days of the Reformation stood almost alone in their demand for complete separation of church and state. Before the Reformation, Roman Catholicism had been the universal state church in the countries of Europe. The reformers, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, felt it necessary to cling to the state-church idea to support their movement. Through infant baptism, the entire population of a state held membership in one church.

The Anabaptists were certain this was not the New Testament concept of "the Church." The church of Christ on earth is made up of believers who have been baptized upon their confession of faith. As the Anabaptists believed in non-violence and non-resistance, and always in a greater loyalty to God than to man, it was impossible for them to conceive of a government being "Christian" in the full sense of the word. Nor did they believe that the members of the true church could take any part in politics.

However, the Christian is subject and obedient to the "powers that be," insofar as the laws of the land do not conflict with the laws of God. Three and four centuries ago our forefathers found this conflict between the demands of the state and the demands of God very real. The leaders of the state churches killed hundred of these "heretics" because they refused to conform to their practices. Religious toleration was unknown.

By the time of the Declaration of Independence, a general atmosphere of religious toleration was apparent, especially in America, the "melting pot" of many peoples. The founding fathers of the U.S.A. were sincere and dedicated men who wished to insure a freedom of religion so that each citizen would be guaranteed the right to worship God according to his conscience and beliefs. There would be no state church in the new nation—the church and state were to be separate. Many different nationalities and many different faiths could live in peace together. Politically speaking, the Constitution set a new high standard of fairness and equality.

Now, it seems to us, the pendulum has swung its full course. What began as a movement to keep the majority from imposing its beliefs on minority groups, has been carried to an extreme that is out of balance with itself.

But, who are we to judge those that are without? (See I Cor. 5:12, 13.) The question is not, "What would we have done if we had been in the Supreme Court's position?" or "What would have been best or right for the Supreme Court to decide?"—no, such decisions are not for us to make.

The question confronting us is, "What shall we do in the light of these developments?" The Supreme Court decision sharply underlines one fact: Public schools are rapidly coming under the rule of the state and federal governments. Soon the controlling voice will no longer be the local board. Texts and teachers and curriculums are being standardized from one end of the land to the other. Standardized procedures turn out a standardized product—a child who has been put through a mold that is full of the modern way of life, and knows nothing of God.

Our forefathers in Europe considered education of their children the responsibility of the church and family. Has it been to the best interests of the church the past one hundred years to have turned this responsibility over to those outside the church? Will it be to our spiritual growth to continue sending a large part of our children to state schools?

These are the questions that we face, as we consider the trends of the times. What are our answers?

30. WHAT ABOUT CORPORAL PUNISHMENT? 1963

(Uria R. Byler, *Blackboard Bulletin*, February 1963.)

As one who has helped to raise a family, I have found one of life's most tasteless tasks is to spank your child. However hard that may be, it is much more so if you punish someone else's child, and I don't believe the teacher lives who does not dread that thankless task. It should be used only as a last resort, after all other methods have been tried and have failed.

The teachers in the Amish schools are very fortunate that they have the right to apply the rod if necessary. The parents usually do not resent this, and the great majority will cooperate with the teacher. The few that do not, and who look unkindly on such practices if their children are involved, are only doing harm to themselves, and to their children, besides making it miserable for the teacher.

We have heard it said quite often by teachers that a child's home life, or environment, is mirrored by his actions at school. Very true. A teacher does not have to be a wizard or a magician to figure it out. Here is a never-failing test to decide whether little Johnny is under proper discipline at home,...watch his reactions when he gets punished, however lightly, for breaking school rules.

We'll say Johnny decides to do his spelling the easy way, and cheats. Due punishment is administered. If he is the same friendly little chap as before, then it is a good guess that he is used to behaving at home, and to being punished if he does not. But if he pouts for a few days, then you may be quite sure that he does not like to be under any authority, simply because it's something new to him, and that he probably has much his own way at home.

It is conceded by many noted educators in public schools that a great thing was lost when they took the rod away from the teachers. Discipline in the schools of yesterday was strict and their juvenile problems few. Then came the modern "progressive education" movement, along with state laws in many states outlawing corporal punishment in public schools. In moved the highly-paid psychologists and child-guidance counselors, with their pet theories on child behavior, adjustment, etc. Up went the juvenile delinquency rate, and it is still going up!

Discipline is the first step in the make-up of a successful school. How it is administered, or managed, is up to the teacher. Teaching methods and techniques vary, and there are no two teachers who are alike in this. The same can be said of disciplinary methods. I have seen teachers with well-behaved schools that use the rod sparingly indeed, but they do use it when necessary, as a last resort!

Let's see, how was that I read somewhere some time ago? "A light pat on the back at the right time encourages the lad to greater efforts to mold a good character, and a not-so-light pat below his back at the right time serves the same purpose."

31. TEACHER CERTIFICATION: GIANT-SIZED STUMBLING BLOCK

(Editorial, *Blackboard Bulletin*, May 1962.)

John Bunyan is well known. His famous book, *Pilgrim's Progress*, has been translated into well over 100 languages, and has sold more copies since it was first published than any other book except the Bible. Most of us know that Bunyan wrote his book while he was in prison, but few of us know why he was in prison, that it was for preaching without a license.

Today we face a problem similar to Bunyan's. In the 300 years since Bunyan's imprisonment, diplomas and certificates have lost none of their status. On the contrary, they are as highly esteemed as ever, and much more common. Today's job-seekers find themselves at a disadvantage if they do not have at least a high-school education, even for a job like janitoring. Gone are the days when an able eighth-grade graduate could apply to the County Supervisor of Schools, and be granted a certificate to teach.

We Amish have traditionally received only elementary educations. Yet in the past quarter century, we have established over 100 schools, and are staffing them ourselves. In a society that is infatuated with degrees and diplomas, this is almost heresy, and it is small wonder that we are given publicity. Nor are we surprised when there is some opposition to our program such as is at present manifest in Iowa. But we are sorry for this, and are concerned that everything possible be done to "live at peace with all men," short of compromising our convictions.

We well understand the purpose of certification in the state school systems. The tax-payers have every right to require teachers to meet certain standards in order to qualify to serve the public. Another reason for these standards is to protect those of the profession who do have degrees.

Our schools are 100% church-supported, on a voluntary basis. Any parents who wish to do so may send their children to the local public schools, which they are also supporting. Doesn't it seem logical that these church schools ought to be allowed to choose teachers that meet their own requirements?

For there are requirements that our teachers must meet. All of our school boards are keenly interested in "qualified teachers," those who not only have the knowledge and ability to teach, but who are sound in the faith. As for "certified teachers" of our own faith, they are just not available. Nor can we see our way clear to recuit any, for by the time they were "certified," there is a strong possibility they would no longer be "qualified" for our purposes.

We are encouraged by some resolutions made by a group of the most conservative Mennonite ministers. Among other things they state, "Many of us feel that it is running too great a risk to expose our young people to the dangers of higher education in preparation to teach school."

The art of teaching, unknown in Amish circles a generation ago, has really caught fire among us. In no other work do we see the depth of dedication. In the past decade a hard core of experienced "professionals" has developed, and by our various means of communication—circle letters, the Bulletin, and our annual meetings—all new-comers can learn the reins. We know that most of our teachers do a lot of self-study, burning gallons of midnight oil to make themselves better teachers. Many have taken subjects by correspondence.

The public has a spotlight on our schools and on our teachers. For this reason, as well as for our own benefit, we must be careful to hire only teachers that are capable and sound of character. Otherwise, our witness to those not of our faith may be dulled.

Having put our hands to the wheel, let us, with God's help, do our best, so that we may all, with Christian of *Pilgrim's Progress*, at journey's end cross the Jordan to a better Land.

32. QUALIFICATIONS OF A CHRISTIAN TEACHER, 1963

- A Symposium by Parents

(*Blackboard Bulletin*, April 1963.)

A Good Teacher Needs: (1) Love, above all else; love of God, love of children and of humanity in general; love of occupation. Love takes care of some of the other characteristics. (2) Firmness, or strict discipline. (3) Adequate education. (4) Willingness to accept advice or constructive criticism. (5) Humility and meekness. (6) Courage. (7) Patience. (8) Cheerfulness. (9) Impartiality. (10) Unselfishness.

All these will make a good character and personality. A person with all of these traits is "*Gott gefällig und die Menschen wert.*"

- A parent and board-member

A Good Christian School Teacher Should: (1) Be modest in dress and actions, setting a good example. (2) Be free of filthy habits such as foul talk, drinking, or smoking. (3) Have sufficient education and understanding of teaching and learning. (4) Accept the task as a challenge to help prepare young souls for a successful life pleasing to God, that they may be an asset to the church and community in the years to come. (5) Have an interest and liking for children. (6) Be able to administer discipline fairly and successfully.

- A parent, Indiana

A Successful Teacher Is: (1) Alert, to the needs of the pupils, the wishes of the parents, and the will of God. (2) Concerned that school life is not only a learning of the 3 R's, but also a living of life's 3 R's - faith, hope, love, I Cor. 13:13. (3) Inspired by the challenge of her responsibilities. (4) Kind to her pupils and to herself. (5) Courteous to all visitors, especially those not of our faith, so that they have no just cause to consider us other than we profess to be. (6) Apt in teaching; if native ability is somewhat below the desired level, it can be improved by practice and self-discipline. (7) Educated, for it is indeed difficult for a teacher to teach others what she herself does not clearly understand. (8) Relaxed, but on her toes. (9) Forgiving toward pupils and parents, for grudges are a heavy and useless burden to carry, and are a poison to the heart and spirit. (10) Above all, Christian, in word and deed and thought, that the children follow the footsteps of their teacher's Saviour.

- A parent

33. QUALIFICATIONS OF PARENTS AND BOARD MEMBERS, 1963

A Symposium by Teachers

(*Blackboard Bulletin*, April 1963.)

Wise Parents Are Those Who Will: (1) Go to the teacher and openly and frankly discuss any problems their child may be having in school. They will remember that many so-called problems are only misunderstandings, and when brought to light may really not amount to much. (2) Not ask of the teacher any special privileges for their child, that must be denied the rest of the students for the sake of keeping order and fairness in the classroom. (3) Teach their children respect for the properties and feelings of others. (4) Not pass judgment upon the teacher in front of their children about anything, before hearing the teacher's side of the story. (5) Respect the teacher as a specialist in her field, and realize that she may often have an underlying reason for the thing she demands or does. A person who gets a prescription from a doctor does not expect to fully understand the content of the medicine; but he only trusts that the doctor in his profession knows what he is doing, and if the results are favorable he is satisfied.

A Wise School Board Will: (1) Know what is going on at school; not by what they hear but by finding out for themselves. (2) See that the teacher has adequate materials and supplies for her task. (3) Provide for play equipment and space that will keep the children interested and busy at playtime. (4) Seek to keep the channel between teachers and parents open and friendly. (5) Hire teachers in which they have faith and confidence, and then stand by them and offer encouragement (not flattery) where possible.

- A teacher

The Best Help the Parents Can Give is to pray for their teacher. They should not speak against the teacher to the children, or when they are within hearing distance. Teachers are not perfect by far, but what parent would want to try to perfectly discipline and teach forty children?

If you see or hear that your child's teacher had made a mistake, visit the school for just one-half day. Not only will it give the teacher a great deal of encouragement, but it will show you in part what problems the teacher daily faces.

- A teacher, Pennsylvania

34. SOME OBJECTIONS TO CHURCH SCHOOLS ANSWERED
(*Blackboard Bulletin*, September 1964: 15)

But Church Schools are Something New.

Yes, they are new for us, if that is what we mean by "something new." Actually, church schools are "something old," which we are only now rediscovering. They are new only in the sense that we did not have them three, four and five decades ago. When we speak of three and four centuries, that is a different situation.

Yes, sadly enough, church schools are new for us. It would have been much easier and better if they were not new. If the church had not freely turned over the reins of education to the state a century or so ago, we would not be experiencing the many difficulties we now do learning to use these reins, and getting the state to relinquish them to us.

We will quote from a writing by Mark Fakkema, "Our Educational Programs as Christians."

"We must return to the educational principle that prevailed for some three centuries of our American history.

"State-supported education is foreign to American ideology. The idea of state-supported and state-controlled education was introduced in this country by Horace Mann during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. He obtained the idea from Prussia. It was not generally introduced in this country until the second half of the nineteenth century. One of the outstanding opponents was the well-known Presbyterian, Dr. A.A. Hodge. He said:

> 'I am as sure as I am of the fact of Christ's reign that a comprehensive and centralized system of national education, separated from religion, as is now commonly proposed, will prove the most appalling enginery for the propagation

> of anti-Christian and atheistic unbelief, which this sin-rent world has ever seen....
>
> '...If every party in the State has the right of excluding from the public schools whatever he does not believe to be true, then he that believes least must give way to him that believes absolutely nothing, no matter in how small a minority the atheists or agnostics may be. This scheme, if it is carried out in all parts of the country, will be the most efficient and wide instrument for the propagation of atheism, which the world has ever seen.'

"This prophecy which was uttered almost a century ago is now being fulfilled. Now (1963) the die is cast. In a twofold court case—that of Maryland and Pennsylvania—the Supreme Court has decreed that the citizens of the United States must either continue with state education and forfeit the religious character of education, or they must establish private schools and personally educate their children in the light of their Christian faith. This is the dilemna in which we now find ourselves."

We Had No Church Schools in our Parents' Day. Why Do We Need Them Now?

They were necessary in our parents' time, but they are ever so much more necessary now. We cannot change what is past, but we can work with the present so our children need not say, "Our parents should have had church schools for us, but they did not provide them."

Let us remember we are living in an age such as the world has never known. (We do not know what is in the future, but if the Lord tarries, we can expect conditions in general to worsen.) The last ten years have seen an increase in crime and delinquency that has no equal in history. Moral standards keep sinking lower and lower.

Our young people have many temptations that were unknown a hundred years ago. So do the rest of us, for that matter. The world has become more and more style-conscious, more and more sex-crazed, and less and less religious as the years have passed.

Just think of the influence modern inventions such as television and the automobile have had on the social and moral life of the masses. One writer has said, "Perhaps the automibile, more than any other one thing, has made dating and courtship into what it shouldn't be. It is a major means for experimentation."

Certainly, these things are only made of steel and other materials, but they have been the means of changing the thinking and the lives of a nation, indeed, of a world.

If we let our children be taught by the world, we can expect some of today's philosophy of "get rich quick, live for pleasure, and take it easy," to rub off on our children. If ever church schools were needed, it is today.

Our Amish parents seem to be awakening to this fact, as is shown by the large number of new schools opening each year. Other churches, too, are beginning to be concerned about the education of their children. According to the United Press, private schools are on the increase. They report,

"Americans in increasing numbers are turning to private schools for the education of their children.

"Enrollment in non-Catholic private elementary and secondary schools has increased 600 per cent since the end of World War II, according to statistical records of the U.S. Office of Education.

"During the same period, Catholic school enrollment increased 110%, and public school enrollment 68%."

But Church Schools Cost a Lot of Money!

They certainly do, but whose money is it, anyhow? It's your money only in the same sense as they are your children, you're responsible what is done with it. Children are a gift of God. It is our duty to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Money is given into our stewardship, to use to God's honor and glory. What do we mean by complaining that it takes too much of God's money to provide an education for the children He has entrusted to us?

Can we afford not to educate our children in church schools? Can we afford to have our children taught evolution and other worldly theories? Can we afford to have our children associate freely with children from non-Christian homes? Can we afford to have them exposed to the filth and scum that represents today's moral and sex standards, to pornography, and obscene literature?

Can we afford to sell our children and their future because church schools cost more than we are willing to pay? Can we afford to meet a lost child at the judgement because we were more concerned with dollars than with his soul?

What are your children worth?

But We Know of Church Schools Where Morals are no Better than in Public Schools.

Some time ago we made the following statement in a writing on youth problems, "Our children must be taught and trained and kept under Christian influence if we expect them to live a Christian life. In this, church schools are almost a necessity."

A minister from an area where there are a good many Amish schools commented on this, "I would say that church schools must be built on a better foundation than some of the parochial schools in _______ County are. In some of these, moral standards are actually lower than in some of the public schools."

This comment does not weaken our faith in church schools one bit, but it does sadden us to think that moral standards are so low in a few of our schools. It is to be regretted that such schools are building with "wood, hay, and stubble," for by so doing, they are defeating their own purpose.

Because of a few isolated examples like these, sincere brethren and sisters are being turned against the church school movement. They see schools being set up with a selfish motive, where the parents are trying to get ahead of public school officials, then they have reason to doubt the value and need of such schools.

The main thing wrong with such schools is that they waited too long to build a church school! These low moral standards are only a carry-over of a previous condition. They are not caused by church schools, or made worse by them. But it is true that a church school can do little to better the situation, or to correct it, unless the parents *desire* such a change and are willing to work hand in hand and heart in heart for it.

Below-standard schools are no excuse for none. We've all heard of unbelievers who justify themselves with, "I'm just as good as some church members." We've also heard parents accuse themselves with, "The standards in our public school are just as good as in some church schools."

Both excuses may be true. Church members and church schools are not always what they should be. But if we want to do any comparing why not compare public schools with the better church schools, and unbelievers with men and women who are conscientiously serving God? It is a rather poor policy to look down for an example. Why not look up?

J.S.

35. SOME TIPS ON FILLING THE LUNCH BASKET

(*Blackboard Bulletin*, September 1964:17 and November 1964:60.)

Growing children who are used to three warm cooked meals a day, then have to put up with a packed lunch at school, appreciate the Saturday noon meal where Mother usually prepares such dishes which the children like especially well.

My wife's teacher used to set a pan of water on the furnace at the first recess, and gave the children the chance of each setting a jar of food in with hers to warm up by noon.

This fall we soon started this, and already a large percentage of the children are appreciating it. A tin sheet laid partially over the pan is just the thing to warm sandwiches on.

You may be surprised at how much this helps Mother in filling the lunch baskets. A good-sized jar can be filled with cooked vegetables such as carrots, string beans, or peas, and this with a warmed cheese-on-toast, or egg, sandwich, will make a hefty lunch, and may help the problem of the ever-empty cookie jar or pie shelf.

For two good reasons, I don't eat a large variety at one meal. First, a few good foods at a meal are better healthwise than a large selection of a little of everything eaten together. Secondly, there is quite a row of lunch baskets at our house, and it helps to keep the lunch as simple as possible.

Overeating

What may well be the number one ailment over all of America is what the doctors call obesity. The dictionaries do not give much of a meaning for this word, and I wonder if this may be due to the fact that not nearly so much overeating was practiced in earlier years.

As one example, look at the increase in the consumption of sugar per person in the last sixty years. And, in one definition of obesity, we read, "It diminishes mental as well as bodily activity."

Now if overeating can dull our thinking, this may affect our school children in getting their studies done. A minister told me his mind is more alert and clear in preaching the Word if he fasts on Sunday morning. If we parents and other grownups constantly over-feed our bodies, can this not cause us to become listless and unconcerned in our thinking habits?

Excerpts, Jonas Nisley

36. BEGINNING THE TERM

(*Blackboard Bulletin*, August 1964:7.)

Try and tell the pupils the very first day, or not later than the first week, "Now this is the way we are going to do this year. Explain any new rules or plans that you may have. Stick to it to the letter for quite some time and see the results. A teacher's program should be flexible and not too "concrete," but there is time enough to be flexible after you have won the child's confidence.

Never love a child too much in the beginning. Make him obey you and then love him, was the advice given to me when I started to teach. Recently I talked with a teacher who has had college and teacher training, and he told me he was taught as follows: (which is similar to my instructions), "Be real stern the first month, and after that you may give in a little when or if the need arises and circumstances permit."

Best results are obtained by giving in a little at the right time. After all, we do not want to be tyrants.

This teacher also told me another point that was drilled into him: "Answer questions, answer questions, answer questions, for that is how a child will learn." But in my opinion, children can also ask too many questions. Perhaps they may ask questions just to get out of thinking for themselves, or perhaps it is to get their work done real quickly. What then? So it is well to consider how and when to answer questions.

If the children become dependent on you to answer all their questions, disorder and confusion will result in the schoolroom. The better you can get a child to help himself and do his own thinking, the better effect your teaching will have.

A few words to teachers, and to those who are considering teaching: Some commandments, "Thou shalt look upon thy job as the most important thing in the world, and strive ever to do it more perfectly." "Thou shalt be thyself. Never seek to imitate another." But even tho' we can't use another's talent, we *can* get hints and ideas by watching another teacher at work. This can be done by visiting schools, a practice which is especially beneficial for the beginning teacher, but one that is also good for any of us. It takes some of that rust off.

"Lord, who am I to teach the way
To little children, day by day,
So prone myself to go astray?

"I teach them power to will and do.
But only now to learn anew
My own great weakness through and through

"Lord, if I their teacher still must be,
Oh, help the little children see,
A teacher learning hard on Thee."

This is my wish and prayer for all teachers.
Humbly yours, Excerpts, Lydia F. Beiler

37. I WAS A TEACHER'S PET

(*Blackboard Bulletin*, November 1964:58.)

Thirty years ago, when I went to school, it sometimes happened that the teacher was unusually fond of certain pupils, and favored them whenever possible. Usually it was the pupils with exceptional marks who were thus singled out and honored. After all, the brilliant pupil is the teacher's ideal, and if he finds an exceptional one, no wonder he is elated.

Whenever this happened the other pupils were not well pleased. "Oh, he's just a teacher's pet," was the usual remark, or "He always gets his own way."

"It's not fair," was always the conclusion. Permit me to say, I agree 100%. It's not fair to the other pupils, the teacher is not being fair with himself, but the one who stands to lose the most is the one who is being favored, *the teacher's pet*. I know, because I was in that position.

In a number of subjects I was at the head of the class. When standard exams were used, I usually rated with the top 2% of the county, sometimes at the top.

Occasionally I submitted poems I had written, and the teacher displayed them on the bulletin board under the caption of "Written by the poet of ________ School." It seemed he lost no chance to praise me, often in my presence, or others would inform me what he had said. It was obvious to me that he believed that with the talent I had life would present no problems whatever.

But now I know better. Time has brought me face to face with facts. There is more to life than reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic. In the school of life each one must do his best and use his utmost skill to do the job the way it should be done. And when we think the battle's over, the victory's won, we find it's just begun.

Instead of concentrating on the points in which I did excel, I wish he would have helped me where I needed help. Had he impressed upon my mind that how we play the game is more important than the final score, it would have been better for me. To be a good loser is better than a poor winner.

Every pupil needs to be taught that whatever ability or talent he possesses is a gift from God and is not of ourselves. It is our responsibility to use it to the best possible advantage. The wise teacher will encourage, admonish, reprove, instruct, praise, or punish as the circumstances warrant. A pupil who is favored is likely to lose out on some of these points. Because he happens to have some special talent, he is praised and held up before the class as a perfect example of the good scholar. Completely ignored may be the fact that he is lacking in many of the basic requirements for getting along in life.

It seems to make but little difference whether a child is a teacher's pet, a Mommy's pet, or a Daddy's pet. Each is a dangerous situation and may have the same deadly consequences.

Children should be trained to be considerent of others and follow the Golden Rule. We must learn to think in terms of others instead of self. Nearly every person has special talent of some sort or other.

Just because the pupil is adept at understanding his lesson, or the daughter has unusual skill washing dishes, or the son has extraordinary ability to get the work done, is no reason they ought to be favored above other children. Give them credit where credit is due, but always urge them to do even better. Correct them where they need correcting, and train them in points where they need training.

At all costs, avoid giving your talented child the impression that he is bound to grow up to be something unusual. Maybe he will, but if he ever amounts to anything worthwhile, it will be because he has worked for the Master with the talents he has, and obtained from them the utmost usage. Merely possessing them is of no avail.

-By a former pupil

38. TEACHING SCHOOL CHILDREN (A RECIPE)

(*Blackboard Bulletin*, April 1965:125.)

The joy of teaching school children is in loving the innocent boys and girls. Take the intelligent, the not-so-intelligent, the willing, the unwilling, the "I Can"s and the "I Can't"s, and mix them well, add love, smiles, firmness, and encouragement. Next throw in a few "Don'ts" to stop the spilling of gossip and the fussing about who got the best mark.

Stir well by explaining it is not so important who got the highest mark, as it is who put forth the best effort according to his ability. Sprinkle with a fair amount of praise, patience enough for the teacher and all the pupils, and love for the pupils, not only for six or seven hours, but until all papers are corrected and lessons prepared for the next day.

Knead with fair rules obeyed, discipline and action when necessary. Keep warm until risen, and grown through school age. Then, when they pass through the schoolhouse door for the last time, keep on praying for them.

By Rachel Petersheim

39. TEN RULES FOR TEACHING

(By Uria R. Byler, *Blackboard Bulletin*, September 1966:39.)

1. *Be patient.* An impatient teacher sows confusion and nervousness among the pupils, especially if they are a little slow. Patience will sooner or later pay off big dividends, and the pupils will always remember and appreciate it. (We are talking of patience in teaching, and not in discipline. That's a horse of another color. We are all prone to have too much patience here.)

2. *Love children.* If children make you nervous, forget completely about school teaching, but remember what a wise man once said, "A man is never so tall as when he stoops to help a child."

3. *Be kind, but firm, in discipline.* No matter how well-educated or talented a teacher may be, if that teacher has poor discipline he (or she) is headed for a hard fall. Never make any rules or regulations that you are not prepared to enforce. Children will love and respect you more if you quietly and firmly enforce the rules.

4. *Be willing to learn new methods and techniques.* During the summer it will pay you well to think up new ideas and methods. Also, in your spare time brush up on your course of study for the coming term. Study some math, English, history, to maintain that margin of knowledge between you and the pupils.

5. *Have the courage to take criticism without striking back.* You will be ctiticized—make no mistake about that. The teacher who never made a mistake and was criticized, how rightly or wrongly, is as extinct as a dodo bird. If deserved, take it gracefully and try to improve. If groundless, ignore it, but remember, "if you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen."

6. *Be as fair as humanly possible.* The teacher probably never lived who has never been accused of having pets, somewhere or sometime. Try to be fair and also ignore this.

7. *Be a friend to the pupils, but not a chum.* I hope I can fully explain this. You can't be a teacher during study hours and act like a pupil at other times. We all, at times, would like to let our hair down, get into the group and mix with the pupils in playing and bantering, but it does not work. Playing games with them—yes. Joining in childish bantering and jokes and childish pranks—no. A teacher should show a certain apartness. Otherwise, you are inviting trouble.

8. *Don't try to convert the pupils.* Your primary duty is to educate. The duty of conversion lies with the parents. Instead of trying to convert your pupils, first be sure that your school is run in such a mannerly way that a well-behaved child of good parentage and upbringing will not lose that and fall into some degrading environment in your school. Don't spoil what the parents have built up, spiritually speaking. (Instead, a good school will *protect* and *strengthen* what the parents have built up. Ed.)

9. *Be co-operative and friendly at all times with the public.* This is sometimes overlooked. We should have nothing to hide from anyone, public or others. When public visitors come, welcome them in and be friendly. And above all, don't let the children giggle and gawk and stare. That leaves a bad taste for any visitors.

10. *Don't be afraid to admit mistakes.* You will make them, and the pupils will admire and respect you if you have the gumption to openly admit and correct them. Before the entire school on the first day, tell your pupils that they should not expect you *not* to make any mistakes, but that you will appreciate it if they tell you when they see any in assignments, and so on.

May God bless and be with all of you as you "stoop to help the child."

40. RULES FOR A GOOD SCHOOL

-- (*Blackboard Bulletin*, November, 1965:64.)

Compiled by the pupils of

A. *What Pupils should not do*

1. Whisper in time of school.
2. Turn around in their seats.
3. Slam their books and make loud noises.
4. Have paper lying on the floor.
5. Run to class.
6. Copy from another pupil's work.
7. Sharpen pencils in time of school.
8. Have their feet out in the aisle.
9. Sit and watch visitors.
10. Run in the school room.
11. Laugh when they are reading.
12. Stand up and look out of the windows.

B. *What Pupils Should Do*

1. Be kind to one another.
2. All help sing.
3. Play together and not argue or fight.
4. Sit up straight in our seats.
5. Be friendly to visitors.
6. Walk along the aisles, and not through the seats.
7. Read aloud in class.

8. Never cheat.
9. Write neatly and not scribble in their books.

C. *What a Teacher Should Do*

1. Live the Golden Rule.
2. Treat the children all alike.
3. Punish a child if he cheats.
4. Make pupils behave, but not be too rough.
5. Be kind, happy, and joyful.
6. Try to get the pupils on her side.
7. Explain the lessons to the children.
8. Help the children play.
9. Try to do things to please the children.
10. Not get "mad."
11. Give rewards for good grades.
12. Teach the children to do what is right.
13. Have rules.

- Sent in by the teacher, Susie Yoder

41. RULES FOR PARENTS

(From Herold der Wahrheit, October 15, 1882, and *Blackboard Bulletin*, September 1966:39.)

1. Be, or try to be, by the grace of God, the kind of person your child should become.

2. Do that yourself which you wish your child to do.

3. Shun that yourself which you wish your child to shun.

4. At all times strive to set a good example for your children, as well in their absence as in their presence.

5. Do your children need rebuking? First examine yourself to see if you are free of everything worthy of rebuke.

6. Do you in yourself find faults, sins, and mistakes? Correct yourself first and then seek the betterment of your children.

7. Remember, those in your care are really only a reflection of yourself.

8. If you live a holy life, and daily pray for more grace, you will grow in holiness, and your children will, too.

9. If you allow yourselves to be led by the Spirit of God, your children will more willingly let themselves be led by you.

10. The more fully you obey God, the better will your children obey you. Wise Solomon prayed in his youth for an obedient heart, so that he might rule his people wisely.

11. If the Master of the house becomes careless and unconcerned in serving God, his attitude will spread to those in his care.

12. That which places a wall between you and God will also divide your children from God.

13. Any act not motivated by love is like the moon—cold and weak.

14. Any deed, however, which is done from a warm and upright love will shine like the sun—spreading warmth and strength.

- Translated from the German

42. THE TEACHER SHORTAGE

(*Blackboard Bulletin*, May 1966:184. By the Editor.)

If past years are any indication, the summer will slip by in a hurry and there will be a number of schools frantically looking for teachers just before school is due to open.

Fortunate indeed are the schools who already have teachers lined up for next year. We urge those who do not have, to start looking *now*. Teachers are going to be scarcer than ever this fall! The schools listed in the Teachers' Marketplace are only a small fraction of those who need teachers. There will likely be a record number of new schools this coming term, and the usual number of teachers will be dropping out. I would estimate there will be fifty new teachers stepping into our classrooms in September, *if we can find them!*

Matters are going to get worse before they get better, I fear. Hear what a Pennsylvania director writes, "There is a serious shortage of good teachers here in Lancaster County. At present only about half or so of the Amish have their own schools, but by July of 1968 when the reorganization law goes into effect, there will be many more, and that means a lot more teachers will be needed."

What can we do about it? I don't know, but we might list a few suggestions that have turned up.

1. *Make teaching as attractive as we can.* School boards and parents should do all they possible can to cooperate with the teacher. Don't overload the teacher, is one way. Just plain hard work and discouragement have caused many teachers to quit.

When teachers are scarce, there is a temptation to assign too many pupils to a teacher. The minimum standards set up by our Amish boards in at least three states mention 35 pupils as the maximum number for one teacher. If there are eight grades, 30 pupils are enough!

If there are more, put in two teachers, with four grades each.

"But," we hear an objection, "If teachers are so scarce, how do you expect us to find two? It's hard enough to find one!"

That's just it. It may be a good deal easier to find two than to find one. Overcrowded schools are one reason teachers are scarce.

2. Another reason teachers are scarce is because in many areas *the school board is unable to compete financially with other forms of employment.* Teachers must live, too, and we can't altogether blame a person who is in debt, or has a family to support, to think twice before taking the lower wages offered in teaching. Many of our teachers have made a real sacrifice money-wise in order to teach, because they felt it was a worthwhile work and their Christian duty. We think there are rewards in teaching greater than a pay check, but it is not right that the teacher should make all the sacrifices.

Some school boards have desperately raised their bids in an effort to get the better teachers. In some areas teachers' wages have gone up perhaps 50% in the last two or three years. We don't like to see our school costing more and more, but these price rises may help keep able teachers in the classroom. After all, wages in general have gone up, too, and so has the cost of living!

3. *A third suggestion* to get new teachers into our classrooms *is to offer some form of training*, or a chance at practice teaching. A lot of good raw material is just too shy to try teaching. When they do try it, they are overwhelmed by the complexity of it all, and one year is quite enough for them.

A little basic groundwork and a chance to get up teaching steam by working with other teachers, may be just what a lot of beginners need.

Perhaps two-thirds of our young men and women who dream about becoming teachers never make it. If there is any way to raise the average, let's give it honest consideration, because this teacher shortage is a lot more serious than some of us realize. The future of our schools is at stake.

One man wrote to us, "I feel we must have something that is appealing and inviting enough to create interest among prospective teachers, so they will willingly join us on their own, instead of the way we have been doing—coaxing and using pressure to persuade them to try it once."

Let's do what we can to fill our classrooms with good sound Christian teachers.

43. SHALL WE TEACH OUR TEACHERS

(*Blackboard Bulletin*, February 1966:120. By the Editor.)

Several months ago we wrote an editorial on "born teachers," and the value of training even for those who are born just right. At the same time, the subject was being discussed in a teachers' circle letter.

Since then we have received letters from many areas and have talked personally with a number of teachers and school men. In view of the widespread interest, we think it is time the subject was laid open for further discussion.

Our Amish schools are probably unique in present-day education. There is nothing else today quite like them. And where a thing is done differently, there are always over-ready critics to say it cannot work.

"An eighth grade graduate teach school? Impossible!"

But it has been done, and is being done, quite successfully.

But There Are Problems

We would be less than frank if we denied having teacher problems. Our schools are no longer in the experimental stage, for some of them are in their fifth decade of operation. In the past, our teacher problems have been kept to a minimum by real effort and dedicated teaching, but as the number of schools has increased, the extent of our problems has kept stride.

Though many of our teachers have had only a grade eight formal education, a strong emphasis on home study and personal preparation has been evident. We have not been blind to the fact that a very real "margin of knowledge" between teachers and pupils is essential to effective teaching. Indeed, I believe this fact is included in the minimum standards adopted by each of the Amish State Boards in Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

Our teachers have been burning the midnight oil, studying their school texts and other books. But they have been doing this, as a rule, only after they began teaching. In view of our rather rapid teacher change-over, this has left something to be desired.

Our new teachers *want* help. I have still to talk to the first Amish teacher who did not wish for a little more "training" that first day of school. When the suggestion of a summer study class for teachers was mentioned in our teachers' circle letter, every one of the seventeen teachers said they would like to attend and once more sit in a pupil's desk. And some of them have been teaching for over twenty years! Do the teachers need teaching? *They* think so.

The number of Amish schools is twice what it was before 1960. This means twice as many teachers. If the past term is any indication, teachers are becoming more scarce. How many would-be teachers are holding back only because they feel they do not have the knowledge or education? How many need only a little encouragement, a few pointers, an outline or a teacher's manual to follow? How many refuse to try because they fear they'll fail?

Take, for instance, the man or woman who has been out of school for ten or twenty or thirty years. Courses of study have changed. The pupils may not be learning the things they learned in school, nor learning it by the same methods. And even at best they have forgotten most of what they learned at school. Such a person has had years of real life experience, and in the process he has learned many things that can't be taught from books. He (or she) would make a good teacher, but a refresher course is needed, partly to bolster his self-confidence and partly to bolster his ability.

Or, take the younger man (or woman) who is not long out of school, but received all his education in a graded school. Now he is expected to step into a mixed classroom with eight grades, or at best four grades, to teach and supervise. He becomes teacher and principal, and perhaps janitor, and what all else. It's too much of a load to pick up, when there are easier jobs elsewhere. But if he could have a little help, or a chance to practice-teach with some experienced instructor, he could at least get a good look at the thing and decide if it was for him or not.

Or, take the graduate of an Amish school, who in many ways is better prepared for the task than any others. But again, as we get into "second-generation" teachers, we're going to have other and different problems. We will get into problems of correct pronunciation of words and correct usage of the spoken language, as we get out of the mainstream of English diction. Remember, we have no radio or television announcers to teach us pronunciation.

We face the cross-drafts of opposing ideas. We want our children to be as well-taught as possible. We want their elementary education to be second-to-none. And we want teachers of our own faith to instruct them.

At the same time we do not want our teachers to pick up their learning at secular schools and colleges. Nor do we have any faith in church colleges, because we have too many examples of what has happened in other Mennonite groups. They solve no problems anyhow, for the professors in the colleges must still get their education outside the church, and in a few short generations the church college which was intended to strengthen the position of the church, takes the lead in undermining it through false philosophies brought in from outside.

Our only choice is to make use of what we have. This will mean guarding carefully against any teaching that may enter our schools that is unsound in doctrine. It will not mean that we can learn nothing from outside sources, but it will mean a careful screening. Our experienced teachers must share what they have learned with our beginning ones. And one and all must pray to God for wisdom, "Who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not." James 1:5.

Possible Solutions

But you say, "Experience is the best teacher." Perhaps it is, but experience is sometimes needlessly painful. How many of you farmers have ever sheared a sheep? If you watch an expert, it looks as simple and as easy as taking off your own jacket. But I have seen men become so frustrated at this job, there were tears in their eyes. Shearing a sheep is not easy, unless you've sheared your first thousand. Like teaching, the breaking-in process can be made a lot faster and easier if you've read a "how-to-do-it" manual, or you have an expert at your side. And when I say "faster and easier," I suppose the sheep would be the first to agree!

And so it is with teaching. The pupil stands to gain the most. And that is what we want, assuredly.

A few ways to teach our teachers, or to help our teachers teach themselves, have been suggested. Some have been tried and proven; others are new ideas for us. Each and all of them have their "Gefahr," yet all could be used to good advantage. We list them here for two reasons, to inform prospective teachers what can be and is being done, and to give an opportunity for our readers to express themselves on any part of this situation.

I. *A Teacher's Manual* especially for our Amish Schools.

Why not have a manual of instructions written by one or several of our own experienced teachers? Here the new teacher could have an outline to follow and a good many hints what to expect. By the use of questionnaires sent to a number of our veteran teachers, a rather complete over-all picture of Amish schools could be gotten, and the author could include his findings in the book. This would be a reference book to which the new teacher could turn for advice and direction.

In the meantime, there is a book available that has been an inspiration and a help to teachers for the past two years. It is THE CHALLENGE OF THE CHILD, to be obtained from the Blackboard Bulletin at $2.00 a copy.

Similarly, we hope the Bulletin itself can be a monthly help to teachers. We would encourage teachers to write in detail of their experiences, so that others might gain therefrom.

II. *Practice Teaching*

Why not encourage would-be teachers to be helpers in a classroom for a few weeks? This could be done during the winter in preparation for the following school term.

This method would be one of the simplest of all. The "student teacher" would have the privilege to work with an experienced teacher, serving an "apprenticeship," so to speak, without pay.

The busy teacher would welcome a little help, and the school board would also appreciate it.

It would certainly serve to familiarize the young teacher with schedules, methods and procedures. And we are unable to think of any objections to such a plan.

III. *Home Study, or Correspondence Courses*

We might divide home study into three classes, according to what books are being used.

A. Pupils' Textbooks and Teachers' Guidebooks: The teacher needs to be thoroughly familiar with the pupils' texts. And the teacher's editions often contain helpful suggestions on how to teach the material. These books all teachers should know and study.

B. High School Correspondence Courses: Home study by mail is being widely used by our teachers. This is both good and bad. It is good because it is an effective method to enlarge that "margin of knowledge." It is good practice for the teacher, and excellent review work.

But it has its disadvantages. Some of the subjects are not particularly suited for teachers-to-be, and mean an expense of money and time that could be used more wisely elsewhere. Moreover, the texts are the same ones used in resident high schools and are not written from the Christian viewpoint. Also, these are high school courses, not a "how-to-teach" course.

We understand these courses have been discouraged in Pennsylvania, largely on the grounds that if state officials learn that *some* teachers have high school diplomas, they will insist that *all* of them obtain them.

As far as the diploma itself is concerned, in our opinion, it is not worth the paper it is written on. However, there are some subjects, especially in grammar and mathematics, that are worth studying indeed. In is possible to choose one's own course from a correspondence school, if one does not care for the status-bearing diploma. In other words, pick out only the subjects of greatest value. This, to us, would seem to have its worth. It would also indicate to public officials that our teachers are being trained, and yet it would not give them anything concrete to use as a pry against us.

The leading correspondence school is the American School of Chicago. In Ontario a high school course is available from the Department of Education, free of cost except for the textbooks.

C. *Our Own Correspondence Courses For Teachers:* It might be simpler than it sounds to prepare our own study-by-mail course. The course could be prepared and conducted from a central office, but the completed exams mailed to our "retired" teachers for checking and grading. One teacher would be responsible for one or several subjects, depending on the number of enrollees.

We might start with a half dozen subjects, and add more later, if desirable. The ones we have thought about are: 1. The Teachers' Manual (mentioned above), 2. A refresher course in English grammar and in 3. General mathematics, 4. Child Study, 5. Teaching arithmetic, 6. Teaching grammar, 7. Teaching Social Studies, 8. Teaching reading. Church history and German might also be considered.

IV. *A Summer Study Class*

Such a class would have many advantages over studying individually at home. But, of course, it too would have its problems.

Anyone who has never been a teacher can not realize the value of fellowshiping with other teachers. A summer class assembled either locally, or a larger group at a central location, would be a great source of inspiration and a means of introducing new teachers to teaching.

No miracles could be performed in a few weeks time, but it would be a means of lighting a spark of interest (or fanning it to a flame) in a good many young men and women who do not know whether or not they want to teach.

As mentioned in our article last fall, if something like this would be possible, it would have to be kept informal, and with no thought of certificates or diplomas.

We do not know whether this (or some of the other ideas above) would be advisable or not. It definitely is an area where we should proceed with caution, and seek the will of God.

But if we see the need to help one another in any of these ways, we want to all be willing to do what we can.

44. WHAT'S AHEAD? 1966

(Editorial, *Blackboard Bulletin*, April 1966.)

We don't want to sound pessimistic, but all the same, there is cause to worry a bit about the future. (Though "worrying" in one sense can be wrong, we believe it is well to be concerned, while at the same time placing our trust and care into the hands of the God who knows no tomorrow. Our concern should be that the temptations and problems of our day do not lead us to neglect His will.)

Whether or not we are aware of it, the public schools are in the midst of a revolution such as they have never known before. The fact was brought forcefully home to me when I had occasion to read a current issue of a leading teachers' magazine. I discontinued the paper about four years ago, and renewed my subscription only recently. How schools changed in that period of time!

The curriculum is almost all "new." First on the list was the new math, but the other subjects are also being overhauled. Science has been stepped up a great deal, indeed, since Sputnik soared into the skies in 1957. New teaching devices and methods—tape recorders, television, teaching machines, programming—have moved in.

We are not writing this to scare more of our people out of the public schools. In this editorial we are concerned what effect all these changes will eventually have on our Amish schools. Or upon our way of life as a whole. How long can we survive as a separate people under the pressure of such changes?

The problem is not limited to schools. The job picture in today's world is not what it was five or ten years ago. More and more of our plain people are taking factory jobs. The farmers in some districts are pretty scarce. This is a definite move toward "city life." What is it doing to us?

But to get back to schools. How long will one-room and two-room country schools be tolerated in the jet age? There have been differences all along in what we taught and how we taught it, yet the courses of study have been much the same. Our Amish schools put more pressure on the basic studies, the three R's, and less on the fringe studies. In the teaching of basic essentials, our schools have made a very good showing alongside the public schools. (Not that the teaching of subjects is our first concern—the spiritual and moral well-being of our children is that—but the three R's and the ABC's are important in their place.)

But all of a sudden we're in a class by ourselves! The narrow margin between what we teach and what public schools teach has suddenly widened into a great rift. The changes are not yet complete, but they are coming.

The greater the difference between our schools and their schools, the more criticism and opposition we can expect. And more problems, especially where there will be transfers one way or the other.

In the course of a few years, the older textbooks may no longer be available. What will we do if textbooks in some subjects are scrapped altogether in favor of television?

But it is not good to dwell too much on the future. We live in the present! God has promised to not let temptation come to us, above that which we are able to bear. (See I Cor. 10:13.) But these promises are good only if we live in His will. Living one day at a time is the formula Jesus recommended in the Sermon on the Mount.

We are convinced the world is ripe for judgment, and Jesus may return any day. Oh, what a time of rejoicing that will be for those who are waiting for Him! But He may tarry awhile yet, and we may face great tribulation in the years to come—perhaps war in own land (what has happened to others can likewise happen to us), or persecution of all true Christians, even unto death.

But perhaps the greatest danger is the one we're living now—prosperity and a fast-changing society that knows not God. Let us pray for each other.

45. MOTTOES ON SCHOOL ROOM WALLS

Let us seek to scatter
Let us seek to sow
Little seeds of kindness
Everywhere we go.

Kind deeds are stepping stones to true friendship.

All that you do
Do with your might
Things done by halves
Are never done right.

I am only me, but I'm still someone.
I cannot do everything, but I can do something.
Just because I cannot do everything
  Does not give me the right to do nothing.
It is my duty to do what I can
  And I must never say I can't until I try,
Then if at first I don't succeed I must try again.

Do unto others as
  You would have others
Do unto you.

The spirit in happiness is
  Not merely in doing what one likes to do,
But to try to like what one has to do.

Learn when you're young,
Not when you're old.
Learning is better than silver
  And gold.
Silver and gold will tarnish away,
But a good education will never decay.

Some children are like wheel barrows—
  Not much good unless pushed.
Some are like kites—
  You need a string on them or
They will fly away.
Some are like kittens.
  Content only when petted.
Some are like lights—
  They go on and off.
Many are like the North Star
  Right there, dependable, ever loyal
  And a guide to everyone.

Always say I'll try.

Be of good cheer.

Obey the Golden Rule.

Kind deeds are stepping stones to true freindship.

All that you do
  Do with your might.
Things done by half
  Are never done right.

Even though you can hide from the earth,
Heaven sees you act.

Love one another.

Let everything be done decent
and in order. I Cor. 14:40

Good fences make good neighbors.

Happy is the house that shelters a friend.

Small deeds done are greater than great deeds planned.

Our life is simply what our thoughts make it.

A lie stands on one leg, the truth on two.

The secret to happiness is not in doing what we like,
but in liking what one has to do.

A face without a smile is like a lantern without a light.

A man should never be ashamed to own he has been
in the wrong, which is but saying in other words
that he is wiser today than he was yesterday.

Remember when you talk you only repeat what you
already know; but if you listen you may learn something.

There are hundreds of languages in the world, but a
smile speaks all of them.

An open mind, affords the opportunity of dropping a
worthwhile thought into it.

Let us pray not for lighter burdens,
but for stronger backs.

It is good to help a friend,
but nobler to conceal it.

The longer you put off doing a job
the harder it becomes.

Children Learn What They Live

If a child lives with *Criticism*, he learns to *Condemn.*
If a child lives with *Hostility*, he learns to *Fight.*
If a child lives with *Fear*, he learns *Apprehension.*
If a child lives with *Pity*, he learns to *Feel sorry for himself.*
If a child lives with *Ridicule*, he learns to be *Shy.*
If a child lives with *Jealousy*, he learns what *Envy is.*
If a child lives with *Shame*, he learns to feel *Guilty.*
If a child lives with *Encouragement*, he learns *Confidence.*
If a child lives with *Tolerance*, he learns to be *Patient.*
If a child lives with *Praise*, he learns *Appreciation.*
If a child lives with *Acceptance*, he learns *Love.*
If a child lives with *Approval*, he learns to *Like himself.*
If a child lives with *Recognition*, he learns that it is *Good to have a goal.*
If a child lives with *Sharing*, he learns to be *Generous.*
If a child lives with *Honesty*, he learns what *Truth and Justice are.*
If a child lives with *Security*, he learns *Faith in himself and those about him.*
If a child lives with *Friendliness*, he learns the *World is a nice place to live in.*
If you live with *Serenity*, your child will live with *Peace.*

It is My Duty
(Written symmetrically in parallel lines)

As a teacher:

It is my duty to:
1. Follow the Golden Rule. 2. Be prompt. 3. Be sober. 4. Be whole. 5. Be humble. 6. Be tenderhearted. 7. Be courteous. 8. Be followers of that which is good. 9. Be ready to give an answer. 10. Be wakeful. 11. Be diligent in service. 12. Be vigilant in watchfulness. 13. Be friendly. 14. Be fair with all persons.

I will with God's help:
1. Try to keep my body well and strong. 2. Always seek to do right. 3. Study to keep my mind active and alert. 4. Learn the art of helping others. 5. Cultivate good will, kindness, peace and calmness. 6. Fill my mind with noble thoughts. 7. Make my influence count for right. 8. Try to have enough patience.

I am forever thankful for the good will of the Board and parents. May I, with the help of God, do my part better than ever before in making this a Christian school for Christian children. - Teacher.

As a student:

It is my duty to:
1. Follow the Golden Rule. Do unto others as you would have others do unto you. 2. Be prompt. 3. Be neat and clean. Be kind and helpful. 4. Be honest and fair. 5. Have respect for my schoolmates. 6. Don't whisper in schooltime. 7. Sharpen all pencils at recess. 8. If in need of another pencil, raise hand, with pencil in it. 9. If necessary to go to toilet during schooltime raise one hand showing two fingers. 10. Don't shout—talk! 11. Don't run—walk! 12. Watch my speech! 13. No *swearing, lying, cheating, or making fun* of another person will be tolerated. 14. No back talking to the teacher. 15. Show respect, *Please*. 16. First work, then play

46. THE TEACHER SAYS, AND OTHER SELECTIONS

(From *Children's Read, Write, Color Book* by Jonas Nisley. Baltic, Ohio, n.d. 320 pp. Page numbers occur at the end of each selection.)

Do not rush over your work in school or at home. (4)

A good pupil is just as cheerful to be on the loosing side of a game as if he or she is on the winning side. (6)

Naturally, you will always try to do your best, but do not feel sad or discouraged if you cannot make a perfect score. (8)

If you meet sometimes, along life's road, a man who has no smile; be kind to him and give him some of yours. (10)

Much can be done where everyone has patience. (12)

Do not cry over spilled milk; think of a way you might prevent it the next time. (14)

Even though our minds may work slower than some children's, let us bear in mind that it is only a blessing that it works at all. (16)

Start each day with a fresh beginning; as if this whole world was made anew. (20)

Someone will follow your habits whether they are good or bad. (22)

When once you start to always try to do your best and what you believe is right; it makes you wonder why you did not start sooner. (24)

Where families help one another whole-heartedly the surrounding community is benefited. (26)

An obedient child is a blessing in every way. (28)

Even though you are young yet, make good use of your time. (34)

Do not form the habit of putting things off for tomorrow that can be taken care of today. (36)

Study your own faults carefully and you will not feel like finding faults with others. (40)

Learn little by little and try to remember what you learn each day. (42)

School is a good place to get along with other people; this will help you when you grow up. (44)

This day like all other days will never come back; so make good use of them all. (50)

The child that keeps on trying will at last be cheerful like the birds. (56)

We are known by our actual deeds and not by what we boast that we can do. (58)

One thing at a time that is the way. (60)

Humble yourself and admit your mistakes. (62)

Take notice how nature is modestly dressed. (64)

Be contented, and do not worry or try to follow up with the world's uneasiness and speed. (68)

Never, never be afraid to do what is right, even if all the others are doing what is wrong. (70)

Do not watch for or count the mistakes of your parents or teacher; but much rather help them along in life's strife, and your own will become sweeter. (86)

How long would you enjoy school without any rules? Are you not afraid it soon could not be classed as school? (102)

Stop and think; do not make fun of others. —Use the Golden Rule— You can just as well be brothers. (112)

There is one time when it is good to follow others. That is when you see that they are doing what is right. (120)

Keep on trying is good encouragement, you may at least come to a happy answer. (122)

Do not count yourself rich in your dollars and cents, things like friends and a humble heart mean much more. (124)

Play safe; do not cross the road before looking in both directions. The road is for traffic, walk along the left side of it and do not play in it. (132)

Take time to think, but do not go to any day dreaming. Keep the mind busy and you have a good chance to succeed in your undertaking.

At the close of day, sweet rest will come to the honest child. (136)

Today is your day; make good use of it. Tomorrow never comes. (138)

Nature is all around us and God, who made it can be very near us too. (142)

We will remember that no one ever felt sorry for what he tried to learn in his young school years. (146)

Children should not complain that times goes slow for them, but they should make good use of their time. (148)

In a house or school where each child does his part, the parents and teacher can work with a cheerful heart. (150)

Treasure your health more than riches; a rich man with poor health is poor indeed. (152)

People who are always in a hurry, seemingly, get very little satisfaction out of life. (154)

It is well to think back how our forefathers did their work by hand. The same God cared for them that cares for us, and they were not in the overbusy mood that we find everywhere today. (156)

Help out a person that has a bad habit by being friendly to him, so that he may grasp of the joy that comes from good character. (162)

Say, yes, no, thank you, I am sorry and please; to be polite. Do this in an honest, sensible way, as it can be overdone, like anything else. (164)

If we try to learn a little bit every day, in 365 days we should have gained quite a bit. We remember that we can learn things at home too. (172)

Home is not a place to go when there is no other place to be. Home is the center of all good things; let us help to keep it good in happiness. (174)

Actually doing little things, is better than always planning to do big things and never get them done. (176)

New hope after failure has been experienced, sometimes, comes very unexpectedly. (178)

Parents and teachers have sorrow-filled hearts, when they learn that children, may think themselves better than others. (180)

The days are not all alike; what you find hard in a problem today, may be easily solved tomorrow. (182)

"I will try," is a good answer and shows interest. "I can't," is a poor answer and shows unwillingness and laziness. (184)

Make your words count; do not make long promises that are never carried out. (186)

Be everybody's best friend, then you will not have to call anybody your enemy. (188)

The older children should appreciate the younger ones and at the same time, the younger ones should also appreciate the older children. (194)

Many people seem to think, act, and talk of money matters first; they seem to forget that money is only a "help along" in this life. (196)

The younger you listen and mind to the parents and older ones; the happier you will be and the sooner you will be benefited. (198)

As we come from sleep and rest in the morning, let us spend our full day with good thoughts, deeds and actions. (202)

A friend tells me that he would not wish that his worst neighbor (who is hard to get along with anyone) move away, because he has fear that he himself might be the worst. (204)

Nothing seems alike, the days, the seasons, the children and the parents; if however we all work toward the best, there should not be want. (206)

Seconds, minutes, hours, days, months, weeks and years will not stop for you; if you want to do good there is no time to lose in idleness. (208)

If you yourself, are not honest, fair and square; and all the rest of us would follow you in your selfish, ugly way, this would indeed be the most dreadful place to stay. (210)

We hope that all of us will be making the daily trip to school with full intentions to learn something and that it will become a part of us in our own simple minds. (214)

A person who lives only for himself, never knows the real joys of life. (216)

You can be pleasant without talking a lot. Think twice before you speak once, certainly is a good habit. (218)

Speak up and talk where you feel sure that good can be done, do not wait till some other day. (222)

Even though we do our best; at times we plainly see big mistakes that we have made. Let us not always feel too bad about it, for at times, we profit by our mistakes. (224)

Singing is a pleasant pass time, good exercise for the lungs and a nice way of giving praise to God. (226)

Courage is that extra something, that makes us keep on trying when the average person is ready to give up. (228)

Take you time when making important decisions. (230)

A friend cannot be bought; you make them yourself and then they may always be something like a part of you. (232)

Even though children grow; it is all important that we still keep the child-like spirit and not the "childish." (236)

One type of unhandy person is the stubborn one who is usually contrary in most of his actions. (238)

Go easy with things, doing one thing at a time and using your best judgment always. (240)

The motto or highway slogan is, "speed kills," and we also know that "haste makes waste." We will all do well to think over these. (242)

There is a way of doing things; be particular and keep things in their place and do not overdo it. (244)

Although George Washington was a president, he also was a farmer and had a love for horses. (248)

Do not take pity of your own self too soon. (250)

It isn't so bad when you have tried and can't succeed as when you start thinking of giving up before you have really tried. (252)

If we will fill up our hearts with love for everyone, then hate has no room; enemies there will be none. (254)

Sometimes we hear of people who are hard to get along with. Maybe if the rest of us will do our duty, people like that will change their character too. (256)

Some things are not so easy as they look; do not get disappointed; some things are easier to do than they look. (258)

Home is the best place to be of course, but getting away from home, to see how others do, is good for a person, sometimes too. (260)

"Better later than never," may be all right; "Always on time," is, of course, far better. (262)

Pride—let us study this word as we grow older, so that at life's journey's end, we do not find ourselves in its terrifying jaws. (266)

If it is like an aged teacher told us last winter, that "father" is the most important man in the world, this will put us fathers to some deep thinking. (268)

At home and in school it is surprising how much a listening child will learn to help himself at the given work for the day. (270)

It is not because we like to, but because it is for their own good, that children are punished for wrong deeds. (272)

Often there are things that we just cannot understand; Do not get excited too quick; often later you will see why.... (274)

It is a hindrance to the obedient child if the disobedient child is not punished. (276)

Usually you can repair something that is broken, usually, too; if more care were taken the break would not have happened. (278)

Do all the good you can, but do not feel important; this world would be here anyhow, if you and I had never been born. (284)

As a young tree sends its roots out for nutrition; so a young child should reach out for spiritual wisdom. (286)

By the children's cooperation, along with the parent's and teacher's, a school is not kept in vain. (288)

Listen to father and mother's encouraging words, share with them, also the joys and sorrows of a happy, quiet family life. (294)

Feel thankful and prove it by returning good deeds when someone does us a favor. (296)

A kind, likeable person is appreciated. (298)

Weigh your words, not with a scale, but with your thoughts. Are they worth hearing? (300)

If we do not have some form of new hope in us every morning there is something wrong. (302)

If you want to treat yourself to something special; humble your heart and be as common as the dust you come from. (304)

Children can be a good example: even help the parents to overcome bad habits, merely by their everyday actions (308)

Patience may be the thing that is much lacking in most of us; let us seek improvement in this. (310)

Let us not get the idea that ALL accidents can be prevented; even when good safety rules are followed. (312)

As the bird's song is refreshing every morning, so we should refresh each other with friendliness. (318)

Understand how dearly God loves you; learn to love yet to fear him and remember, as you grow up, that the person of pride (hochmut) will not be in Heaven. (320)

Musings

1. One good thing about telling the truth is, you don't have to remember what you said.

2. Spend five minutes every day thinking of some good you can do someone—and then do it.

3. Don't worry when you stumble. Remember a worm is about the only thing that can't fall.

4. If you have something worthwhile to say, say it, and say it with as few words as possible. That is what Abe Lincoln did, and the world still remembers what he said.

5. Where's your backbone? When the boss asks you what you think about a certain matter, tell him what you think, and not what you think he thinks.

6. You cannot buy honesty and respect with being dishonest and disrespectful. (32)

Persevere

The fisher who draws in his net too soon,
Won't have any fish to sell;
The child who shuts up his book too soon
Won't learn any lessons well.

If you would have your learning stay,
Be patient don't learn too fast;
The man who travels a mile each day,
May get around the world at last. (42)

Success

It's not the amount of gold that you have,
Or the many acres that you own;
It's not the mansion that you have,
That spells success in your home.

It's the little things you do each day—
The kind words you have spoken;
It's helping the one who is down and out,
And healing the beart that is broken. (84)

It's doing the job the best you can;
It's the loving and giving in life;

It's keeping your eye on higher things,
And your chin up, in every strife.

If you are the kind that wants to succeed;
Just try to help those in distress;
A life that is clean, a heart that is true,
And doing your best........that's SUCCESS. (86)

. . . life is more than just measuring its speed. Let me look up into the branches of the trees, knowing that they grew great and strong because they grew slowly and well. (126)

The Keys to Victory

Do you want something?.....Will you pay the price?
The great sin..............Fear.
The greatest mistake.......Giving up.
The most satisfying experience....Doing your duty first.
The best action.....Keeping the mind clear and the judgment good.
The greatest natural blessing.......Good health.
The greatest fool........The man who lies to himself.
The greatest gamble......Substituting hope for facts.
The most certain thing in life........Change.
The greatest joy in life......Being needed.
The cleverest man...The man who does what he thinks is right.
The most potent force......Positive.
The greatest opportunity...The next one.
The greatest thought.......God.
The greatest victory.......The victory over self.
The best play..............Successful work.
The greatest handicap......Proud of heart.
The most expensive deed....Hate.
The most dangerous man.....The liar.
The most ridiculous trait....False pride.
The greatest loss.....Loss of self confidence.
The greatest need.....Common sense.
The greatest pleasure........Serving others. (168)

Little Sayings

If you say nothing no one will repeat it.
You can always tell a wise man, by the smart things he does not say.
There is only one way to avoid criticism: say nothing, do nothing, be nothing. (182)

My Resolution

I am resolved:
- To be so busy, brave and true, that I will have no time to fuss, fight or worry.
- To be better to my neighbors, and help them to be better to me.
- To have something good to say, or to have nothing to say at all about my fellow man.
- To think, plan and talk health, happiness and prosperity.
- To think best thoughts, to do best deeds, and expect best results.
- To see and emphasize the good in everyone.
- To see and point out the bright side of every situation.
- To be guided by "what's the good," rather than "what's the harm."
- To forgive, even though I cannot forget every injustice. (194)

. . . the Creator made darkness in which man should rest. Daylight is the time for work. This is the law of Nature. When man violates this law he must suffer for it. Arising to begin the day in that fresh new hour as the sun appears gives one the joy of a new chance a new world, a new opportunity. In health, in working habits, in cheerfulness, early rising pays! (196)

A Happy Day

Abraham Lincoln said a man is just as happy as he makes up his mind to be. We can adjust ourselves to what is before us; our family, our homes, our business, our opportunities. To try to make the world over just to suit us is a large order. If we cannot have what we want and like, we can learn to like what we do have. So, just for today; let us be agreeable, responsive, cheerful, charitable; be our best in everything that befalls us, walk softly, praise people for what they do, and not criticize them for what they cannot do. And if we find fault in others let us just forgive them and forget it. (230)

Quotes

A man is not poor because he has nothing but because he does nothing.

Never judge the day by the weather.
Every day is a good day.

If God is not as near to you as He once was,
rest assured that it is not God who has moved.

The highest things of life are based upon love.
Whether the evening of life is dull or beautiful depends upon me.

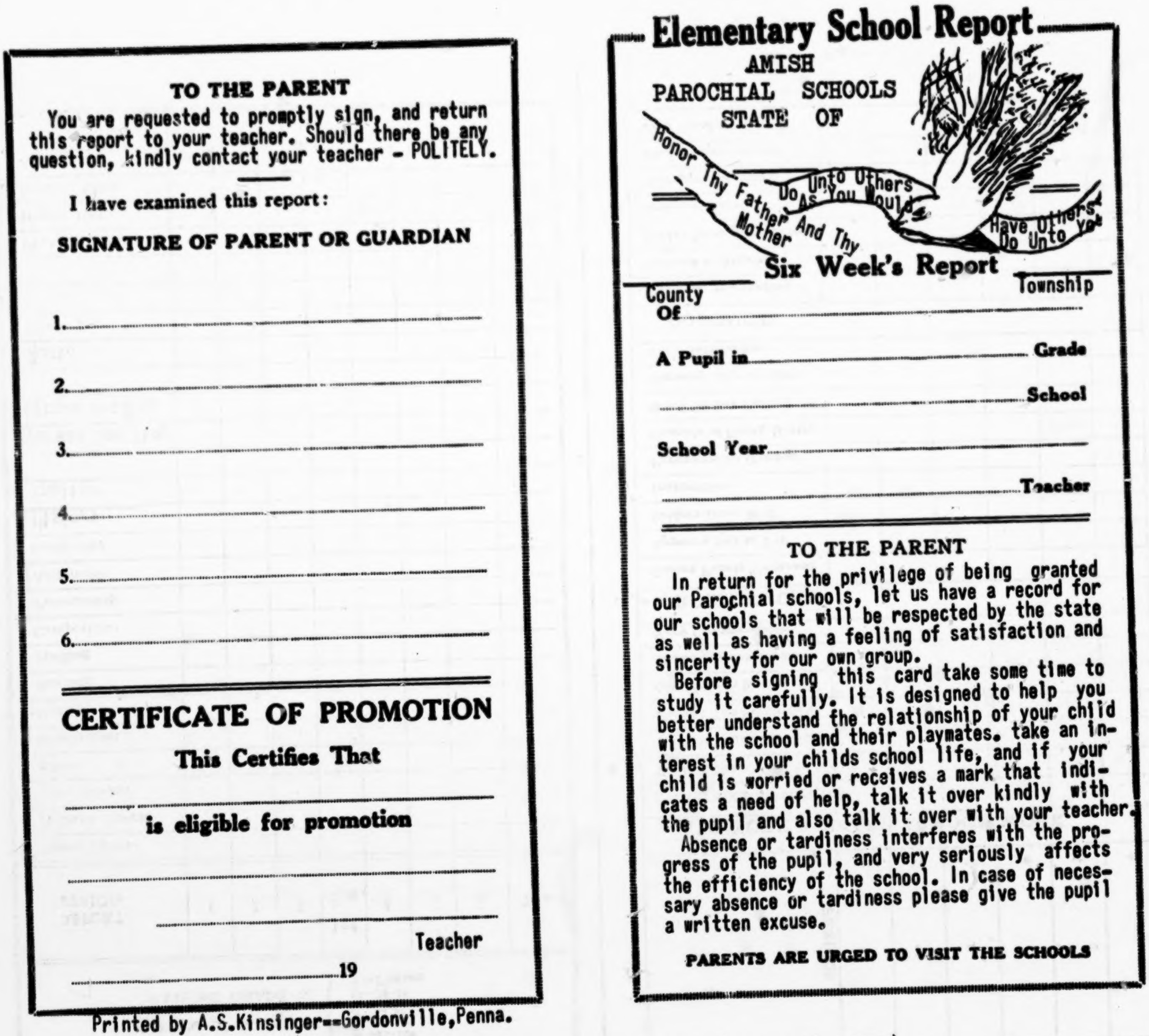
Whether life be short or long, there is ample time left to do God's will. (294)

World's Greatest Need

The greatest need of the world is more old-fashioned character and kindness; a slowing up of the rush; long enough for some of us to realize that we are not here for too long a time, after all. The best things that we can give to our times are patience and love. The surest way to receive consideration is to give it. It is much more pleasant and helpful, to slap a man on the back than to hit him in the jaw.
We also need more time to enjoy the simple things of life.

Temper

When I have lost my temper, I have lost my reason too.
I am never proud of anything, which I angrily do.
When I have talked in anger, and my cheeks were flaming red;
I have always uttered something, which I should not have said.
In anger I have never, done a kindly deed or wise,
But many things for which I felt, I should apologize.
In looking back across my life, and all I've lost or made,
I can't recall a single time, when my fury ever paid.
So I've struggled to be patient, for I've reached a wiser age.
I do not want to do a thing, or speak a word in rage.
I've learned by sad experience, that when my temper flies;
I never do a worthy deed; a decent deed or wise. (304)



TO THE PARENT

You are requested to promptly sign, and return this report to your teacher. Should there be any question, kindly contact your teacher - POLITELY.

I have examined this report:

SIGNATURE OF PARENT OR GUARDIAN

1. ____
2. ____
3. ____
4. ____
5. ____
6. ____

CERTIFICATE OF PROMOTION

This Certifies That

____

is eligible for promotion

____

____

Teacher

____ 19

Printed by A.S.Kinsinger--Gordonville,Penna.

Elementary School Report

AMISH
PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS
STATE OF

Honor Thy Father And Thy Mother

Do Unto Others As You Would Have Others Do Unto You

Six Week's Report

County Of ____ Township

A Pupil in ____ **Grade**

____ **School**

School Year ____

____ **Teacher**

TO THE PARENT

In return for the privilege of being granted our Parochial schools, let us have a record for our schools that will be respected by the state as well as having a feeling of satisfaction and sincerity for our own group.

Before signing this card take some time to study it carefully. It is designed to help you better understand the relationship of your child with the school and their playmates. take an interest in your childs school life, and if your child is worried or receives a mark that indicates a need of help, talk it over kindly with the pupil and also talk it over with your teacher.

Absence or tardiness interferes with the progress of the pupil, and very seriously affects the efficiency of the school. In case of necessary absence or tardiness please give the pupil a written excuse.

PARENTS ARE URGED TO VISIT THE SCHOOLS

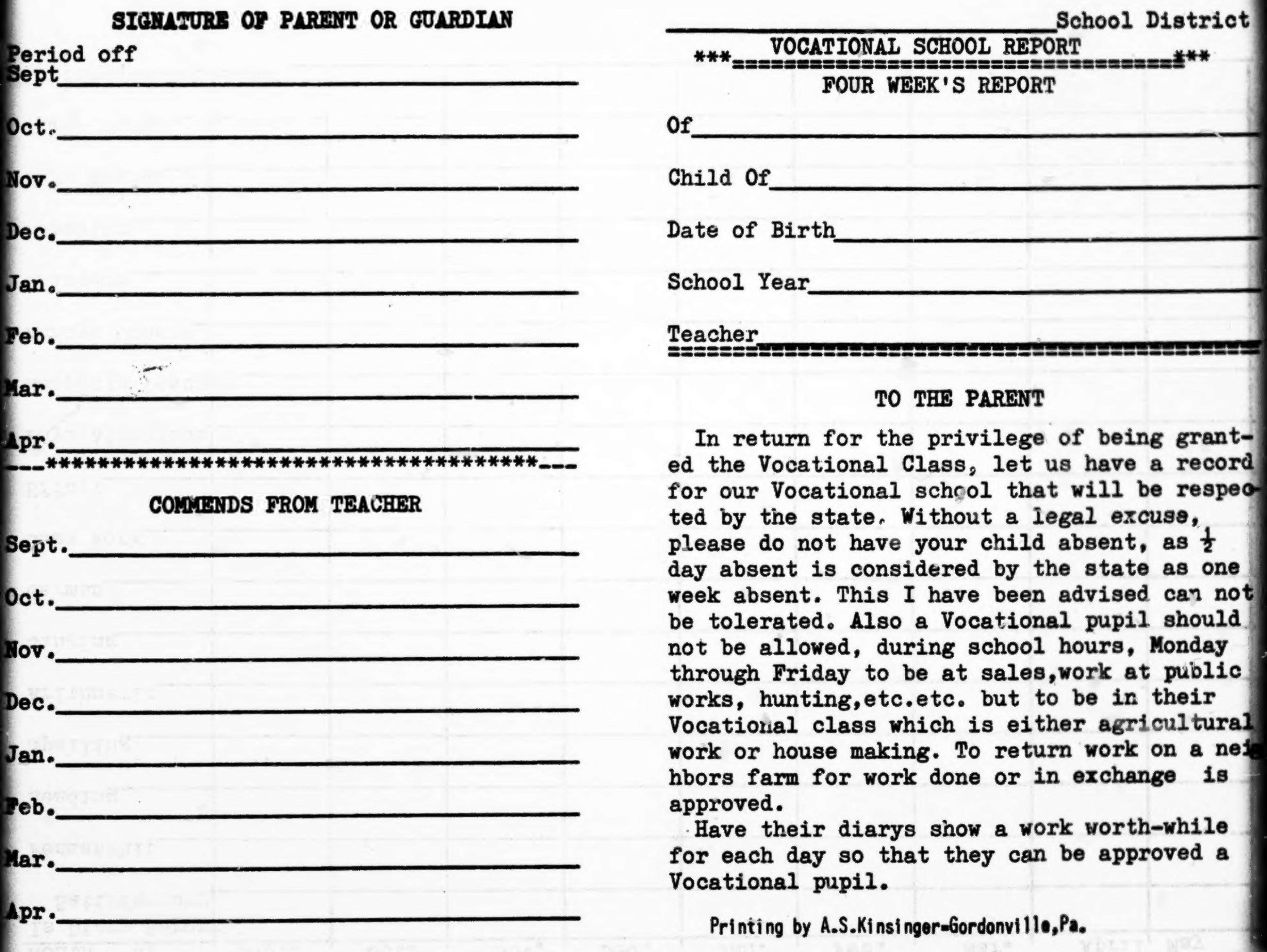
47. Elementary School Report (also next page)

SYSTEM OF MARKING
PASSING GRADE 70

A—93-100
B—86-92
C—77-85
D—70-76
F—Failure

REPORT PERIOD	1	2	3	1st Sem.	4	5	6	Term
Times Tardy								
½ Days Absent								
Days Absent								
Effort								
Deportment								
Health								
Reading								
Spelling								
Composition								
Penmanship								
Arithmetic								
Geography								
History								
English								
German Spelling								
German Reading								
Music								
Drawing								
Phys. Education								
Health Inst.								
Rank in Class								
Average								
Prom. to Grade								

PERIODS	1	2	3	4	5	6
ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL WORK						
Conference Requested						
Wastes Time						
Work is Carelessly Done						
Copies; Too Much Help						
Give Up too Easily						
Shows Improvement						
Very Commendable						
RECITATIONS						
Comes Poorly Prepared						
Appears Not to Try						
Seldom Does Well						
Inattentive						
Promotion in Danger						
Capable of Doing Better						
Work Shows Falling Off						
Showing Improvement						
Very Satisfactory						
CONDUCT						
Restless; Inattentive						
Inclined to Mischief						
Rude; Often Discourteous						
Annoys Others						
Whispers too Much						
Shows Improvement						
Very Good						



SIGNATURE OF PARENT OR GUARDIAN

Period off

Sept.____________________

Oct.____________________

Nov.____________________

Dec.____________________

Jan.____________________

Feb.____________________

Mar.____________________

Apr.____________________

___**___

COMMENDS FROM TEACHER

Sept.____________________

Oct.____________________

Nov.____________________

Dec.____________________

Jan.____________________

Feb.____________________

Mar.____________________

Apr.____________________

____________________School District

VOCATIONAL SCHOOL REPORT

FOUR WEEK'S REPORT

Of____________________

Child Of____________________

Date of Birth____________________

School Year____________________

Teacher____________________

TO THE PARENT

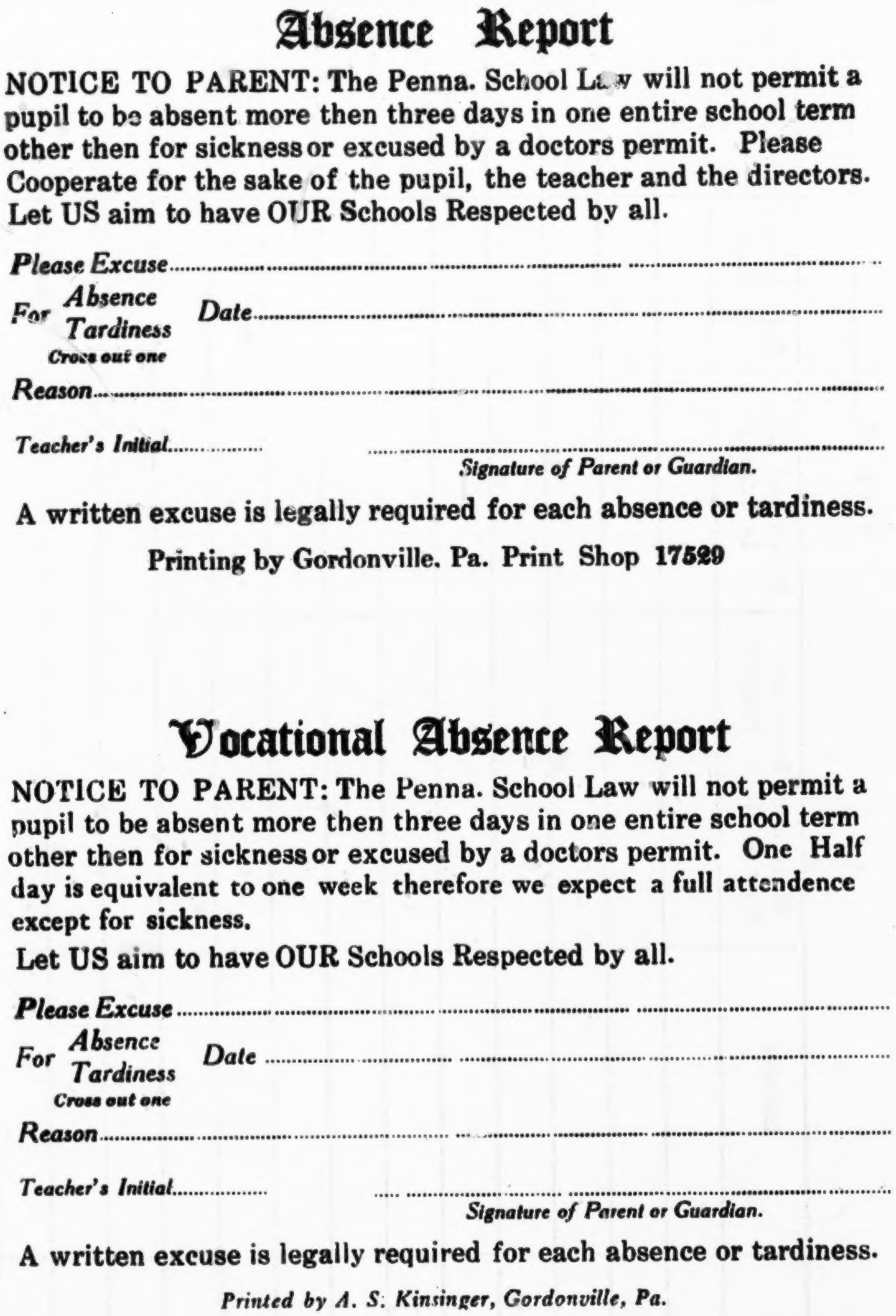
In return for the privilege of being granted the Vocational Class, let us have a record for our Vocational school that will be respected by the state. Without a legal excuse, please do not have your child absent, as ½ day absent is considered by the state as one week absent. This I have been advised can not be tolerated. Also a Vocational pupil should not be allowed, during school hours, Monday through Friday to be at sales, work at public works, hunting, etc. etc. but to be in their Vocational class which is either agricultural work or house making. To return work on a nei hbors farm for work done or in exchange is approved.

Have their diarys show a work worth-while for each day so that they can be approved a Vocational pupil.

Printing by A.S.Kinsinger-Gordonville, Pa.

48. Vocational School Report (also next page)

Month of	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May
Is Diary Report Satisfactory									
Penmanship									
Reading									
Spelling									
Arithmetic									
Singing									
German									
Home Work									
Effort									
Pays Attention									
Respects Teacher									
Annoys Others									
Whispers									
Behavior									
Days Missed									
Times Tardy									
Conference Requested									



Absence Report

NOTICE TO PARENT: The Penna. School Law will not permit a pupil to be absent more then three days in one entire school term other then for sickness or excused by a doctors permit. Please Cooperate for the sake of the pupil, the teacher and the directors. Let US aim to have OUR Schools Respected by all.

Please Excuse ....

For *Absence* / *Tardiness* *Date* ....

Cross out one

Reason ....

Teacher's Initial ....

Signature of Parent or Guardian.

A written excuse is legally required for each absence or tardiness.

Printing by Gordonville. Pa. Print Shop 17529

Vocational Absence Report

NOTICE TO PARENT: The Penna. School Law will not permit a pupil to be absent more then three days in one entire school term other then for sickness or excused by a doctors permit. One Half day is equivalent to one week therefore we expect a full attendence except for sickness.

Let US aim to have OUR Schools Respected by all.

Please Excuse ....

For *Absence* / *Tardiness* *Date* ....

Cross out one

Reason ....

Teacher's Initial ....

Signature of Parent or Guardian.

A written excuse is legally required for each absence or tardiness.

Printed by A. S. Kinsinger, Gordonville, Pa.

49. Absence Report Form for Elementary and Vocational School

[50]

TEACHER'S REPORT -- WEEKLY

[Have available for Examination and forward
copy of each with Monthly Report]

Week of____________________________

Name of Child	Address	Hours and Dates on Farm or Home Project	Hours and Dates In School	Days Absent Or Sick	Progress Report(Good or Bad)	Date of Withdrawal.

Teacher____________________________ Address____________________________

Printing by Gordonville,Penna.,Print Shop

[51]

REPORT OF COMMITTEEMAN--MONTHLY REPORT

(Report will be submitted to School Districts and County Superintendants - forward three Copies)

TO: Aaron E. Beiler, Box 179, Route 1, Gap, Pa. Date __________

SUBJECT: List of Children in Church Organized Vocational Farm or Home Projects.

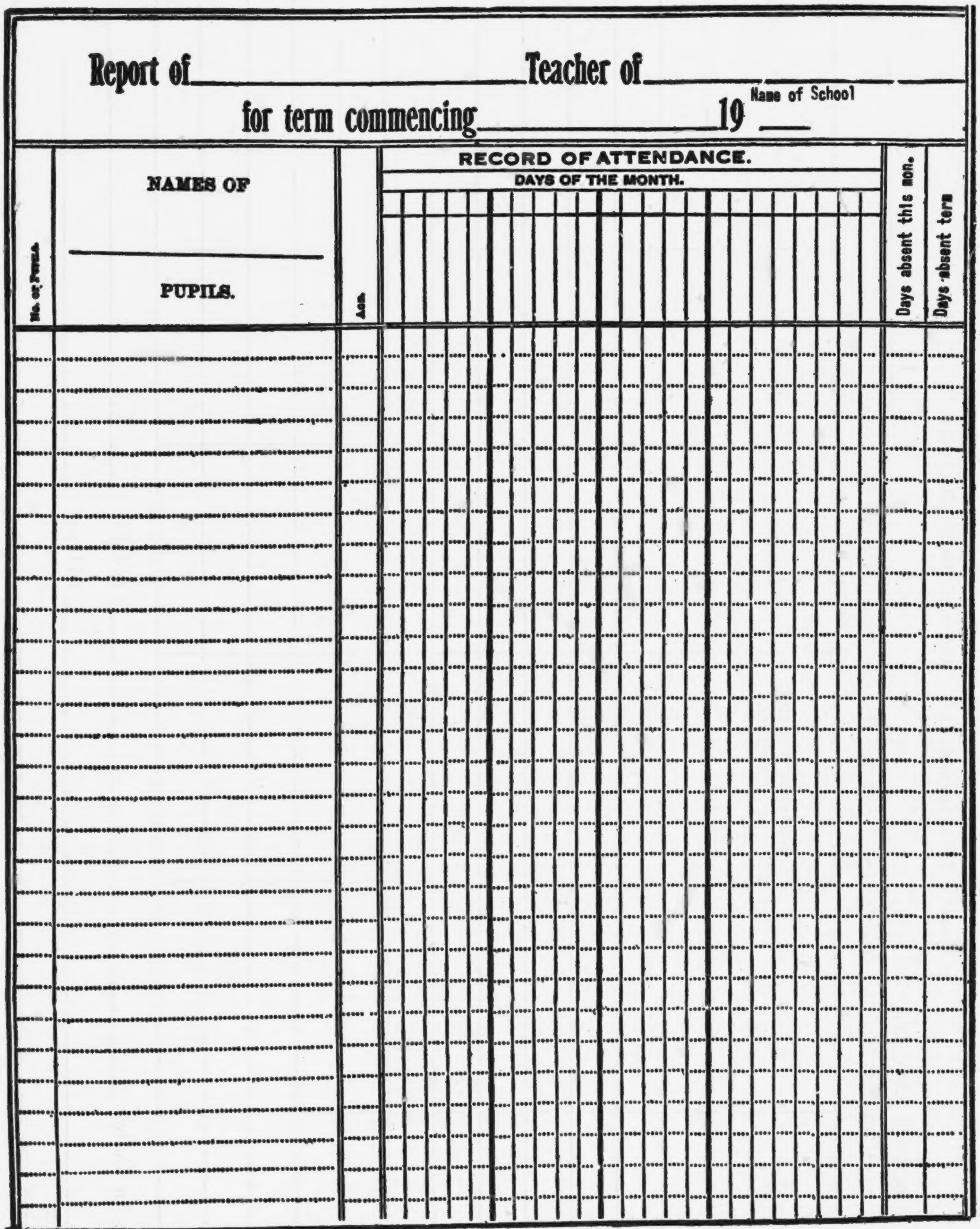
Name of Child	Date of Birth	Name of Parent or Guardian	Address	Grade passed	School District Attended

Committeeman in Charge __________ Address __________

Teacher __________ Address __________

School Location __________

Printing by Gordonville, Pa. Print Shop-17529



Report of____________________**Teacher of**____________________
Name of School
for term commencing________________**19**____

No. of Pupils	NAMES OF __________ PUPILS.	Age	RECORD OF ATTENDANCE. DAYS OF THE MONTH.	Days absent this mon.	Days absent term

Printing by Andrew S. Kinsinger-Gordonville,Penna.

52. Teacher's Record Book

53. BOOK LIST: OLD ORDER BOOK SOCIETY
(Source: Old Order Book Society, Gordonville, Pa.)

READING

1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th grades=Scott-Foresman Basic. The full series including (Think and Do) work-books and teachers editions or Manuals=The New Basic Readers. Plans are to keep these in print as long as possible then print and stock them by the book Society for the Amish Parochial Schools as they appear to be about as good a starter reader as can be found, 1956 Edition.

Phonic Books are encouraged for first & second grade, including work-books. Reading with Phonics by J.B. Lippincott are the favorite by most teachers.

5th, 6th, 7th & 8th grade The Golden Rule Series Modern McGuffey Readers can be used or for the ones preferring to do so, the Pathway Readers could be used.

WRITING PADS (Penmanship)

1 for each grade=Printed and supplied by Old Order Book Society, Gordonville, Pa.

ARITHMETIC

1st and 2nd grades=Strayer Upton Arithmetic Workbooks.

3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th & 8th grades=Strayer Upton Practical Arithmetic, (3 book series). Teachers Manual for 7th and 8th grades. Ans. for all. Printed and available from Old Order Book Society, Gordonville, Pa. 17529.

SPELLING

2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th & 8th grades=Learning to Spell including Teachers Manuals=Printed and supplied by Old Order Book Society, Gordonville, Pa. 17529.

Also a book series, Essentials of Spelling can be had from Old Order Book Society or order from Henry J. Miller, Star Rt. Box 104, Millersburg, Ohio, for Ohio people.

ENGLISH

Continental English Workbooks, or English activities, grades three to eight, Key books to accompany same.

English Activities can be ordered from Henry J. Miller, Millersburg, Ohio, Star Rt. Box 104.

HEALTH

Three Book Series=Easy Steps to Health, for grades 3-4, Your Health and You for 5-6, and For Healthful Living for 7-8. Order from Old Order Book Society, Gordonville, Pa. 17529.

HISTORY

Yesterday In America for Grade 3 OR 4. Great Names in American History-Grade 5. Our Country's Story-Grade 6.
Seeking a Better Country by Zook-Grade 7.
Our Better Country by Byler-Grade 8.

GEOGRAPHY

The Man in His World Series with Teachers Editions, etc. by Silver Burdett Co. Our Big World-Grade 4. American Continent -Grades 5-6. Old World Lands-Grades 7-8.

DICTIONARY

Thorndike-Barnhart Junior Dictionary by Scott-Foresman Co. or Webster Elementary Dictionary by American Book Co.

ENGLISH SINGING (Music)

Favorite Songs and Hymns by Stamp Baxter Co. Songs of Inspiration by John T. Benson.

GERMAN SINGING

Lieber Sammlung or Unpartheyisches Gesang Buch from German Book Dealers.

GERMAN READING OR SPELLING

3rd and 4th Grades=Erstes Deutsches Lesebuch.
5th and 6th Grades=German and English History of the Patriarches. (Mosie Buch)
7th and 8th Grades=German and English Testaments.
Order from Old Order Book Society, Gordonville, Pa. 17529.

OTHER MATERIAL AVAILABLE

27 Books of New Testament = Puzzle
50 States Puzzle

35 Presidents of U.S.A. Puzzle.
23rd Psalm Puzzle.
Genevieve = English or German.
True Story of Lost Boys in Allegheny Mts.
Budget Letters of A.D. Kurtz.
Stolen Child.
German Flash Cards.

BOOKS FOR PARENTS

Shadlich Uebung = German
Alter Brief = German
Troyer Book = German

APPENDIX C

LIST OF PROJECT DOCUMENTS AND PAPERS DEVELOPED IN WHOLE OR IN PART DURING THE INVESTIGATION

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Buchanan, Frederick S.
1968 The Amish Concept of the Child as Reflected in the *Blackboard Bulletin*. Unpublished.

Gallagher, Helene
1969 Amish and Control Group Children's Drawings Analyzed Through Psychological Techniques. Unpublished.

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1969 A Study of Amish Academic Achievement. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan. Ph.D. dissertation, Educational Administration.

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1969 An Analysis of Amish Children's Drawings. Unpublished.

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1969 An Interpretation of Amish Achievement Scores; The Culturally Different Hypothesis. Unpublished.

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1969 Cross-Cultural Studies of Amish, Negro, and White Children by the Analysis of Drawings and Occupational Aspirations. Unpublished.

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